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20th July 1903



Richard B. Belden.

THE
ENGLISH DIARY
OF AN
INDIAN STUDENT.

1861-62

BEING THE SKIBBLING JOURNAL

OF THE LATE

RAKHAL DAS HALDAR

*OF UNIVERSITY HALL, LONDON AND
MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE
PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE, BENGAL*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

HARINATH DE, M A

*OF THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE
ONETIME SENIOR CLASSICAL SCHOLAR, CHRIST'S COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE AND STATE SCHOLAR OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

Dacca

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1903

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To

Mrs. Helen Adam Withall,

Whose constant sympathy and friendship

during many months of earnest toil

in England

are ever gratefully remembered

by his Father,

this little book is

respectfully dedicated

by

The Editor

INTRODUCTION.

e

ON THE MORNING OF THE 11th of April 1861 a number of Bengali gentlemen had gathered on board *S S Nemesis* to wish farewell to a fellow countryman of theirs who was leaving Calcutta for Europe much against the wishes of his more orthodox Hindu relatives. This gentleman had thrown up what seemed to his people a very lucrative appointment* and had set his mind on improving his prospects by a protracted stay in England, where he was destined to gain the esteem of some of the most distinguished literary men of the day, such as Max Muller, Goldstucker, H C. Robinson, Dr Martineau and Sir Charles Trevelyan. It is the life of this gentleman that we purpose to write as an introduction to his valuable Diary by the publication of which his eldest son, Babu Sukumar Halder, has not only fulfilled a pious duty but has also conferred a lasting benefit on Anglo-Indian literature.

Babu Rakhai Das Halder, the writer of the present Diary, was born at Jagaddal on the 21st of December 1832. This village, situated on the Hooghly, opposite

* On the 1st August 1857 R D H was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools Cuttack

the French settlement of Chandernagore, is known to lovers of Bengali literature as one of the places through which Srimanta passed in his memorable voyage so graphically described in the *Chandi* of Kabi Kankan. The Haldars of Jagaddal are a very old family. Becharam Halder whose only surviving son Rakhai Das was, served the Honble East India Company for a period of thirty-five years. On his retirement from service as Assistant Superintendent of the 24 Pargannas Embankments in 1851, he was granted a special pension by the Court of Directors "upon the consideration that he was to a great extent incapacitated and his retirement accelerated by a severe injury to his right hip which he sustained in the performance of public duty."* Becharam's piety and charity are well-known even at the present time not only in his native village but in every place in Bengal and Orissa where he happened to be employed. An interesting allusion to this old gentleman's charitable instincts occurs in a Bengali work of Babu Chandra Sekhar Bannerji entitled *Jatadhárir Roznámcá* (published in 1883) in which the writer mentions Becharam's appointment (on the 29th October 1836) to the executive charge of the Balasore District, D. P. W., as something remarkable, it being the first appointment of its kind in Bengal. Equally interesting is Rakhai Das's description of his orthodox father in a Family Register kept by him. "He had, Rakhai Das tells us, "served the government for more than 35 years

* Despatch No. 32 dated 11th June 1851 from the Court of Directors to the Government of India

and always with credit. Had he been dishonestly disposed, he could have easily amassed a fortune. Many people with far less advantages had become rich ; but Becharam preferred honourable poverty to wealth dishonestly acquiredIn religious persuasion he was a Vaishnav and was a very orthodox Hindu. Lahit-mohan Gossain of Khardaha cheated him of a good deal of money. Becharam had a number of ^{of} idols in his house and kept an establishment for their *pūja*. I annoyed him very much by my heterodox proclivities One beautiful trait of his character was that he took great pleasure in feeding people. He was much vexed with my visit to Europe, but he lived to pardon me. His latter days were enlivened by the fact that I had got two sons and two daughters *before his death.*" During the famine of 1866 Becharam, we are informed by his son, fed daily in an unostentatious manner a number of persons "without caring to receive the thanks of the public. Becharam died in 1869 at the good old age of eighty-five.

The death of his father was a severe blow to Rakhai Das. His mother had died in his early infancy and he was left entirely in the care of an aunt—"aunt Revati" as he always affectionately called her—who stood to him in the place of a mother. With what love and reverence she was regarded by her motherless nephew can be gathered from a Bengali poem of Rakhai Dass which has been given in the appendix. In his Family Register Rakhai Das has also written:—"Mother left a worthy protectress in my dear aunt

Revati, who could not have held me dearer if I had been her own son".

Rakhai Das began his Bengali alphabet at the usual age of five in 1837. English and Urdu he began in his tenth year. An incident took place in 1844 which gives us an insight into the unsuperstitious cast of intellect of this future advocate of monotheism. Rakhai Das, we are told, was going on a journey to the temple of Jagannath at Puri with some of his relations. On the way a fellow-traveller informed him that owing to some supernatural causes the temple of Jagannath cast no shadow. "I disbelieved my informant," writes Rakhai Das, "and while at the shrine itself I demonstrated the folly of his belief".

The years 1844 and 1845 were spent at the Chinsura Preparatory and Hooghly Collegiate Schools. In the latter year Uma Charan Bhattacharya, the family priest of the Jagaddal Haldars and Krishna Mohan Mullick, the father-in-law of our great countryman Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, K. C. S. I., both Tántric Sháktas of a very rigid type, initiated him into the mysteries of Kali worship. Writing about this period at a later date, Rakhai Das says, "The phantasm of Kali still continuing to haunt me, though I had begun to have moments of doubt, the imaginary Kali used to say.—'O Rakhai when thou wilt grow up thy thought will be that Kali is a mere phantasm. I used to say 'No Mother, no.'"

The apprehensions of the goddess were partly realised in the following year, for on the 18th April

1847 at the ghat near the Kadderpore Bridge, Lalit Mohan Gossain of Khardah initiated Rakhal Das into Vaishnavism—the sect to which his family belonged, not without some resistance, as we are informed, on the part of the youthful proselyte.

The literary career of Rakhal Das Haldar began strictly speaking in the year 1848 when he commenced to contribute Bengali verses to *Sudhāranjan*, the well-known periodical of the celebrated Bengali satirist Iswarchandra Gupta. His contributions to this journal and to the *Prabhākar* brought him into close contact with the well-known Bengali *littérateurs* of the day, such as Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Raja Radha Kanta Deb, Harish Chandra Mukerji, Kristo Das Pal, Sambhu Chunder Mukerji, Shub Chunder Deb, and Akshay Kumar Datta.

From this period of literary labour an appreciable change of religious belief was discernible in Rakhal Das, till he openly avowed his convictions by joining the Brahmo Samaj in 1852. We ought to have mentioned that in the previous year he had started life as a clerk in his father's office. This account of the gentleman's religious development would be incomplete if we omitted to mention that Rakhal Das *never finally broke with the Hindu society*, so that, although we find him writing in his Indian Diary of the 9th June 1851 (See p. 97). "In social matters we might rectify and improve things were we to separate ourselves from the bulk of the Hindus as a separate sect," his views gradually underwent considerable modification, for he wrote on the

12th of February 1867 (See p 101) 'The Brahmo Samaj is making progress but after all I fear that the Brahmos may be another sect like the *Kartabhajas*

Later on he gravitated more and more towards Hindu society though he never ceased to take something like an academic interest in the Brahmo Samaj and shortly before his death the Vaisnav influences under which his earlier life was spent manifested themselves in a distinctly unmistakable manner. The zeal which he displayed in the cause of the new religion—he was closely connected with Devendranath Tagore's religious movement in 1850 and even earlier—was equalled by his extraordinary energy as a student and an author, inasmuch as we find him at this period not only an indefatigable reader of the works of the English monotheistic thinkers such as Channing Theodore Parker, and Edward Denny's with some of whom he kept up a regular correspondence, but also an enthusiastic promoter of the vernacular literature of Bengal which was then in its infancy. Among other Bengali works which he completed about this time we may mention a translation of some of Lamb's Tales from Shal esperre, a life of Rāmā in Bengali* and a translation of Rājā Rammohān Roy's 'Precepts of Jesus

While in England he obtained no help whatever

* In 1852 he rendered into Bengali the following Lamb's Tales—*O helo Ie cles Cymbel e* As 101 like it King Lear and Romeo 11 Juliet. In 1854 he published his *Sri Sri Char it or I so of Pāmā* a second edition of which was issued by his sons in 1902 under the editorship of his son of 110 of K mendra sundar Ir ed M A

from his father and he had to place himself under pecuniary obligation to the Rev Mr C H A Dall ; but a difference* unfortunately arose with that gentleman and thereafter his aim was to stand as far as possible on his own legs (as he writes in his diary of the 25th March 1862) though he had still to depend to some extent upon the generosity of Mr Hodgson Pratt, a retired Anglo Indian officer of considerable means who was also a man of broad sympathies. He was able on his return to India to repay every farthing he had borrowed in England. The fact was publicly acknowledged by Mr Dall at a lecture at Howrah to the Canning Institute in 1873 —“ Next he (the lecturer) guardedly showed the course of a Bengali gentleman whom he had the satisfaction of taking with him to England in 1862, his friends' life on steamship, his way across Europe, his

* This matter is referred to in his Bengali letter to Babu Jidunath Mukherji printed on p 24 *post* and also in his diary of the 24th July 1861. It was thus mentioned in a leading article in the *Hindu Patriot* (7th July 1862) entitled *The Bengalees in England* —

The next Bengalee [i.e. after Rammohan Roy Dwarkanath Tagore two native converts who entered the medical service and Mr G. M. Tagore] who has gone to England is a free thinker hitherto by no means widely known to his countrymen. The Rev Mr Dall the American Unitarian Missionary who sympathised much with this Hindoo free thinker took him to England with the secret hope of converting him to his own faith. The tough Bengalee would not however yield and he was left to shift his own way. Mr Hodgson Pratt one of the devoted band of true friends of India then took him up by the hand and assisted him with the earnest philanthropy of Christian charity. The early Sanskrit attainments of Babu Rakhai Das Haldar for such is his name stood in good service to him in the hour of difficulty and distress and through the influence of Mr Pratt and other friends he obtained the office of Professor of Sanskrit and Bengalee in the University

four days in Paris, visiting there among other wonders, the Imperial Library and attending High Mass at the Madeleine, then his cordial greeting, though a Bengali stranger, from Max Muller and the invitation to Oxford, the aid extended him by Hodgson Pratt and others, English gentlemen and Anglo Indians; his well-furnished room and his pleased English class mates at University College, London. This Bengali gentleman returned from England in splendid health, after a year of study, to a position of honour and emolument in Bengal. As soon as permitted by the increase of his salary he repaid to Mr Dill, unasked, every rupee expended, years before on his trip to England (*Indian Daily News*, January 13, 1873). It is interesting to add extracts from a letter addressed to him by Mr Hodgson Pratt on the 28th May 1866 —

My dear friend

I am rejoiced to hear of your promotion and so will all your English friends be. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to have been able to do you so ne little service for I feel sure that you well deserve any aid of the kind. I rejoice further that you have found yourself able to repay the money which I lent to you for I am sure that it will give you the satisfaction which comes of doing a right thing at some considerable sacrifice. It will also be a great

College London. He contributes to some of the leading literary periodicals and though we regret much that he has been driven to the toil of the pen still it is a matter of no small satisfaction that a Bengalee has succeeded in England in earning his bread by cultivating literature alone. The readers of this journal may trace this Ben's life in the remarkable letter which we lately published containing his first impressions of England and which we may add was republished all the country over.

satisfaction to me to be able to state to English friends that my
Hindi friend kept his word with me

o * o o o

Believe me

Your very sincere friend

HEDSON PRATT

The law examination which he had passed in London would have enabled Rakhai Das to join the Calcutta High Court as a pleader, but the stress of circumstances compelled him to accept the appointment of Deputy Magistrate and Collector which was kindly offered to him by the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon. He joined that appointment in October 1862 at Burdwan, from which place he was transferred to Manbhum on survey duty in September 1863. In 1866 he was employed on Famine duty in addition to his own duties. We transcribe an extract from a letter to the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division written on the subject of the Famine, on the 2nd May 1867, by the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum (Captain R. C. Money) — "The result of Babu Rakhai Das Haldar's inquiries is most valuable, and the efficient manner in which he has performed this duty has been of material assistance to me. In January 1866 an order was passed appointing him as Deputy Magistrate and Collector in the Sunderbuns. The transfer (which was eventually cancelled) was objected to by the Board of Revenue in the following terms — 'This officer is at present engaged in survey work in which his sudden departure would cause great

inconvenience, and the Board believe that it will be found necessary to recommend that as he is a thoroughly efficient survey officer he should not be transferred until the operations in Chota Nagpore have been properly completed (The Board's No 12 A dated 11th January, 1866 to Government) He was deputed to Palamu on survey duty in November 1867

He was a Special Commissioner under the Chota Nagpore Tenures Act II (N C) of 1869 from 1st April 1869 down to the conclusion of the proceedings in March 1880 During this time he was very closely associated with and enjoyed the fullest confidence of Colonel E T Dalton, the Commissioner of the Division, who had nominated him for the appointment The Commissioner in his letter No 2584 dated the 31st October 1868 to the Government said — I have the honour to state that Babu R D Haldar Extra Assistant Commissioner is, in my opinion, the best selection I could make for the duty of defining the Bhunhari lands in Chota Nagpore Babu R D Haldar has had long experience in demarcation work and has shown great intelligence and tact in disposing of the difficult disputes that have arisen and I have great confidence in his firmness and judgment All this tact and knowledge and judgment is wanted in the Bhunhari work and I do not think we could find a better qualified officer We must apologise to the indulgent reader for inviting his attention to the following letters of Colonel Dalton which are taken from a mass of private and demiofficial correspondence which has been carefully

preserved by R D H and which show in what esteem he was held by his superiors —

Ranchi 1st Nov 1868

My dear Haldar,

Much as I desire to have you for the important duty of Phuinhati registration I would not ask you to undertake it if I thought your health was likely to suffer from it. But you will be employed only in the healthiest parts of a District possessing a fine climate and I shall not require you to remain out in unhealthy seasons of the year. There is no reason for calling you off on the score of health and as I know no one to whom the duty could be so well confided I have nominated you for it.

o o o o o

Yours very truly

E T DATTON

Ranchi April 24 1869

My dear Haldar

I congratulate you on the addition to your pay that the Government has granted to you whilst you hold the appointment of Special Commissioner. I hope by the time you have completed your labours on that important field the increase will be secured to you by promotion.

o o o o o

Yours &c

E T DATTON

Ranchi May 7 1871

My dear Haldar

I have not heard from you for a very long time. How are you? Some men from Belkadi came here the other day to ask that you might be sent to their villages adding that you had told them it would not be inconvenient to you to go if you got the order. I shall be very glad if you can comply with the r

wishes I fear you must find uncomfortably warm in camp. Take care to keep in thick shade and have *à laus à lais*

° ° ° ° °

Yours very truly

E T DALTON

Camp Belish Khan, Pulnow, January 24 1871

My dear Haldar

I was very sorry to hear from Ranchi that you had been obliged to come in from camp in consequence of fever. I sincerely trust you have shaken it off and that you will not be obliged to go on leave again. It is hard to be subjected to so much camping work when it does not agree with one. I have to be thankful for the good health I generally enjoy. I have been very hard worked lately in famine correspondence and this I must plead as my excuse for not sooner thanking you for the MS received with your note.

° ° ° ° °

Yours &c

E T DALTON

Ranchi October 23 1871

My dear Haldar,

Mr Phear of the High Court is here. I think he would like to make your acquaintance and you his. Will you come and breakfast here at 12½ on Saturday next?

Yours sincerely

E T DALTON

My dear Haldar

Here I am by your commands but here I find you not. I suppose you propose moving here as you seem to be a long way off.

* It may be here stated that on the occasion of Lord Northbrook's visit to Ranchi R D H was honoured by Colonel Dalton with an invitation to meet the Viceroy at dinner.

Mr Olphant is with me I hope you will dine with me this evening

Yours &c

F T DALTON

The following highly appreciative remarks were recorded by the Government of Bengal (Sir Ashley Eden) in the final resolution on the operations under the Chota Nagpore Tenures Act — 'The Lieutenant Governor desires, in conclusion, to express his high appreciation of the manner in which Babu Rikhal Das Haldar discharged his duties as First Special Commissioner under the Act. The earnestness, industry and discrimination which he exercised in the disposal of old claims, and his intimate knowledge of the duties entrusted to him were conspicuous throughout the operations, and the interesting reports received from him from time to time proved of great value to Government in the discussion of the various questions which came up, and in directing the working of the Act (Government Resolution dated the 25th November 1880). This Government resolution was reviewed by the *Hindoo Patriot* in the following manner: Babu Rikhal Das Haldar has conducted the proceedings with great industry, care and moderation and has justly earned the thanks of the Government.

The next appointment that he held was that of Manager of the Chota Nagpore Estate which was under the Court of Wards. He succeeded Major N. Lewis who had himself succeeded Mr G. H. Webster C. S. as Manager. He continued in this appointment down to

June 1887. The Board of Revenue in their Report on Ward and Attached Estates of the Lower Provinces, for the year 1886-87, observed :—"The Board entirely agree with the Commissioner that credit for the management of the estate is due to no one more than Babu Rakhal Das Haldar who was in charge of the Estate from the 15th February 1879 up to the date of its release"

In 1877 on the occasion of the assumption of the Imperial title by Her Majesty the Queen, R. D. H. was the recipient of a certificate of honour from Government.

In June 1881 he was offered by Government, and he declined, the appointment of Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which carried a salary of Rs-800 per month

After making over charge of his duties as Manager of the Chota Nagpore Estate he went on leave, preparatory to retirement. Before his leave expired he was offered an extension and appointed to have charge of the Baraset Sub-division. He was about to join his appointment when he was suddenly attacked by a fever which refused to yield to the remedies employed by his physician's and he passed away on the 23rd November 1887 at No. 1 Wellington Square, Calcutta, which house had been kindly placed at his disposal by his old friends the Dutts. His services were thus fully recognised by Government (Sir Steuart Bayley) in a letter to the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpore Division (Mr C. C. Stevens) —"The Lieutenant-Governor also acknowledges the valuable assistance given to you by Babu Rakhal

Das Haldar, who was Manager of the Chota Nagpore Estate ; and takes this opportunity of placing on record his sense of the loss which the Government has sustained by the death of this excellent officer " (Government letter No 51 J. dated the 9th January 1888 to the Commissioner, Chota Nagpore Division)

During his long service in Chota Nagpore he acquired an intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the various aboriginal tribes of that division and thoroughly mastered the complicated system of land tenures. He rendered valuable assistance to Colonel Dalton in the preparation of his "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal," — an assistance which the author has suitably acknowledged in his preface to the work. He also helped in the compilation of Dr W W Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal (Trubner, 1877) as regards the district of Lohardugga (now Ranchi), and the assistance rendered by him in the preparation of the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal" (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891) is thus acknowledged by the author, Mr. H. H. Risley, C I E — "I may be permitted to take this opportunity of specially acknowledging the very valuable assistance and advice which I have received from..... and most of all from the late Babu Rakhai Das Haldar, Manager of the Chutia Nagpur Raj" As a member of the Asiatic Society he contributed several papers to the Society's *Journal* on inscriptions and copper plates found by him in Chota Nagpore. Perhaps his most valuable contribution was an "Introduction to the Mundari Language" which

appeared in Vol. XL, Part I, (1871), pp. 46-67 of the *Journal*.

* Like most hard workers R. D. H. was not blest with perpetual good health. In July 1884 he was run down by over-work and made a trip by sea to Ceylon for the benefit of his health. He visited Colombo and Kandy and saw the Temple of Buddha's Tooth at the latter place. He made the acquaintance of the Hon'ble Mr. P. Ramu Nathan, a Member of the Ceylon Legislative Council and of H. Sumangala the Buddhist High Priest. At Colombo he paid a visit to the Buddhist Widjodaya College. He saw Ahmad Arabi Effendi, better known as Arabi Pasha who was then living in Ceylon as a political prisoner. R. D. H. returned to Calcutta in August.

His views on England and English politics are amply given in his Diary, but it is interesting to note what he thought of the people on his return. The good qualities of the English people always appealed to him, but when he left the shores of England in July 1862, after a residence of about fourteen months his admiration for the people and their country was greater than ever. He gave his hearty adherence to various movements which were designed to bring about a *rapprochement* between the rulers and the ruled. He was a Life Member of the National Indian Association which was founded by Miss Carpenter with this object in 1870. A branch of the Association was opened in Calcutta in 1876. A meeting for the purpose was held at the Town Hall where Miss Carpenter was present,

and a Committee was formed with the Lieutenant-Governor as president, R. D. H. being appointed as one of the members* (See report in the *Statesman*, January 10, 1876) In addressing the boys and young ladies of the Doveton College and Institution at the Town Hall on the 10th December 1874 the late Sir Richard Temple, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, thus alluded to an instance in which Rakhai Das showed his practical sympathy with the Anglo-Indian community —“It was very desirable that they should avoid the too common habit of depreciating their native fellow-subjects. They were specially bound to think kindly and fraternally of them, remembering that on more than one occasion the leading families of Calcutta—the Tagores, the Mulicks, the Deys, the Chatterjis, the Mookerjis, the Ghosals—had liberally come forward to afford pecuniary aid to the Doveton, and that this very day, a medal given by a native gentleman, Babu Rakhai Das Halder, had been presented to a successful student” (The *Englishman*, December 18, 1874) He regularly corresponded with his English friends, both ladies and gentlemen, down to 1887 the year of his death and his relations with his European official superiors were always of the most cordial character Mr. Hodgson Pratt writing to him from Brighton on the 22nd March 1878 said:—“I have been greatly touched by the terms of your letter and rejoice much to know that you entertain such feelings towards myself.

* Subsequently, he became a Life Member of the N I Association

It has always been a great satisfaction to me to know that my efforts on your behalf bore such good fruit. The experience of life is not always so fortunate. In helping others one has innumerable disappointments, and my success in your case is all the more encouraging and gratifying. I must say that no people are less open to the charge of ingratitude than your countrymen. Anything I have ever done for individuals in India has always been recognized more than I expected or deserved. The following is an interesting letter from another old English friend of his (an English lady who has never visited India) whose constant kindness and sympathy contributed, more than anything else, to his happiness and comfort in a distant country —

*29 Fulbridge Road Upper Holloway N
London Nov 16 1884*

My dear Friend,

It was with heartfelt pleasure that I perused your last letter to me written August 6th on board S S, Bay of Bengal. I assure you the reading of it brought tears to my eyes and a strange tumult in my thoughts. On reading it I tried to picture to myself your surroundings and to enter into *your* retrospective view. The Bay of Bengal seems to me quite a familiar place as dear Uncle often talked about it and your feeling illusion to days that have passed away touched me keenly. I thought if we can remember the past so well is it not possible that our loved ones who are I trust existing in a sphere unknown to us will have the power to look back on the days spent on Earth and that they will still take an interest in all that concerns those who were dear to them here? But who *can* answer?

When I think on your not very comfortable visit to England so many years ago I reflect that if I had then had my present

experience of life my sympathy with you would have been greater - before we can give true sympathy we must ourselves have undergone to some extent the trials of life. The want of money is a hindrance to much we should like to do but distance can never be a barrier to the exchange of kind and affectionate thought.

I am truly grieved at the discord between the natives and English and I think the English out there are much to blame. Wilfrid S. Blunt sent two papers on India to *The Fortnightly Review* for September and October and he is entirely on the side of the natives. He says the English women do a great deal of harm by keeping up caste and in many ways they foment the bad feeling and prevent their husbands from kindly intercourse with natives. Lord Dufferin will perhaps reform matters but we all know that these old standing evils cannot be cured quickly.

A great friend of India Mr. Fawcett died two weeks ago. His place will be difficult to fill. He is much lamented and with reason.

o o o o o

I am with much affection

Yours

H A W

The following are extracts from other letters from his English friends —

*22 Chislington Street, Oakley Square, A. W.
London N. 1 3 1862*

My dear Mr. Haldar,

I have received both your letters dated August 21 and September 8 the former announcing your arrival in Bengal and the latter your residence at Chandernagore and enclosing also a letter from your wife to my niece. Our thoughts followed you with the deepest interest to your native country and our conversation has often turned on the reception you would meet with, the difficulties against which you would have to contend and the

rewards which I confidently believe will ultimately crown your efforts. I now learn with the greatest pleasure that you are safe and well that you have found your father in life and health, and that your partner in life and you are once more united under a common roof. My niece, I suppose, will write to your wife, but in my own name I beg you will express to her my hearty congratulations on your reunion. *Long may you both continue in that tenderest and most beautiful of all relations to cheer each other in trials and to strengthen each other in virtue.* Though I am personally unknown to your father if you have a fit opportunity and deem it proper, I shall be obliged if you will present to him my sincere respects. I cannot doubt that the father of such a son if he were known to me would be found entitled on his own account and in his own character to high regard and consideration and I shall truly rejoice if you are able to inform me that differences of religious belief and practice *equally conscientious on both sides* are merged in that sacred bond which should unite father to son and son to father in mutual affection. With respect to yourself and your prospects I do not wish to hush you up with false expectations but on the other hand I think that you should be equally guarded against undue depression. I have some knowledge of the state of society and government in India and some knowledge also of your character abilities and attainments and I say without hesitation that if life and health are continued to you I have an undoubting confidence that you will be successful and useful in life. You will meet with difficulties and disappointments. Who escapes them? But in the field before you and in the capacities within you you have both scope for effort and instruments to work with which cannot but produce great and good effects both for yourself and others. Never despond. Be content with the *humblest duties and the humblest forms of usefulness.* But always hold yourself in readiness to seize on every opportunity of fulfilling your higher aspirations and be assured that in good time that opportunity will not be wanting. Pardon the freedom I employ in giving advice which is probably

little needed, but a word of encouragement from a friend is sometimes acceptable

o o o o o

In prosperity and adversity believe me always

Your friend

W ADAM

*22, Chisrington Street, Oakley Square N W
London 26th July 1863*

My dear Mr Haldar

I have delayed so long to acknowledge your letter of the 18th January last that I am now almost ashamed to take up my pen for that purpose, but I trust you will do yourself and me the justice not to measure my regard for you by the infrequency of my communications. My niece and I often revert with pleasure to the time when we enjoyed your society and we cordially join in congratulating you on the position you have already acquired in the public service and the prospect which from that stand point your integrity and independence of character your perseverance and intellectual capacity will infallibly open to you

o o o o o

Believe me always with sincere esteem

Your friend

W ADAM

*Kyton on Deismore Nr Coventry
January 9th 1867*

Dear Mr Haldar

* * * * *

I am thankful I can say Mr Twamley and I are pretty well, of course we feel getting older but we go out to see our friends and receive them at home, and if you should visit England again you would be very warmly welcomed here. I am truly glad to

have your account of India that you think it is on the whole well governed. The more natives—the cultured ones—are officially in the Government the better it will be in my poor opinion for all parties. In England I fear we are not going forward and it will require a firm hand and a kind heart to settle Ireland. I think Coventry is still in an improving condition. New streets and old narrow ones widened, good houses built especially a large Grammar School founded by King Henry VIII a short distance from the town. Fashion has been against the ribbon trade lately but other trades—elastic webbing, and Bicycles and Tricycles and other industries—have greatly benefited the artisans. Now we seem to have got a more moderate Liberal Ministry so I trust we may go on and prosper. I heard from a friend in the autumn that Mr Edward Howse is living atournemouth that Mrs Howse continues much the same. Mr Twamley desires to be kindly remembered to you.

Yours very sincerely

MARY FREEMAN

In a rough note book left by him in England R D H has thus sketched out in pencil his own political creed—"I am one of those who desire for the continuance of British rule in India, and am not the less patriotic on that account. Some of the striplings, puffed up with reading books like the 'Philippics' of Demosthenes, talk (though nothing can lead them to action) of patriotism, of driving the English away from India, yes, I myself used to talk so when a lad of about 16, but deeper insight into the condition of India and the science of Government has shown my mistake. Who would let his child of 10 years go to an unknown country without a guide? Just so with the natives of Hindustan who generally are mere grown up children,

and actually require a nation like the British to govern and guide them. I therefore regard the British rule as a God-send. I am, however, far from believing that the Europeans can do with us what they have done with the aborigines of America, *i. e.*, extirpate my countrymen. On the contrary, the latter cannot incessantly harass the conquerors so as to render their rule precarious. The past history of India is on my side when I say that even with the power steam and electricity lend to the Europeans they cannot root out the natives. The out-break of a handful of Sonthals* has shown that the bite of an ant is sometimes too painful for the lion. I think that the late Satanic rebellion would have been more serious in its consequences, nay, the Government itself would have been at great hazard, if wiser men had not come forward with help."

R. D. H. is mentioned as a visitor by Miss Mary Carpenter in her "Last Days of Rammohan Roy in England" and he is referred to in the following passage which is taken from Mr. Dill's "Calcutta to London by the Suez Canal." (*Englishman Press, 1869*)—"Those who say that sending a Bengali to London is sure to spoil him—are less hopeful than I. Ram Mohun Roy

* The reference is to the Santal insurrection of 1854. "The Santals, starting with the desire to revenge themselves on the money lenders who had taken advantage of their simplicity and improvidence, found themselves arrayed in arms against the British Government. It was not without bloodshed that the insurrection was suppressed" (Colonel Dilton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*).

was not spoiled there. Nor have I heard that the princely merchant Dwarkanath Tagore was morally ruined by going to London. Nor do I think that another son of Bengal, my fellow traveller, now of Chota Nagpore, was spoiled by his close observation of English life during his year of residence at London University, nor by the generous treatment he received from Professors Martineau and Taylor, and from Max Muller, Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Charles Wood. The Editor of the *Reis and Rayjet* (October 18, 1884) thus wrote of him—'Babu Rai Lal Das was a social reformer in his teens, whom quest of religious truth and secular knowledge had led to the West where he enjoyed unusual opportunities of mixing in the society of the finest spirits and master minds of the time,—literary men like John Dennis philosophers like William Adam and James Martineau philosophical linguists like Goldstucker and Max Muller—before he entered the Subordinate Executive Service of which he is an ornament. We wonder why he has not yet been thought of for the Bengal Council. The members of the service fitted by ability, by knowledge of the country, by administrative experience and by general culture for assisting our legislative work are extremely few, and he is one of the best of them. Nor is he disqualified by any revolutionary ardour of patriotism. He is loyal to the backbone.

When he died in 1887 the same Editor (Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee the doyen of the Bengali journal

ists of the day) thus wrote of him in the *Reis and Rayjet* (November 26) .—

“We have been a good deal shaken this week by the death almost in our arms of an old and most esteemed friend who was an honour to his species and far and away one of the best and finest of our countrymen—Rakhai Das Haldar. He died on the 23rd inst under circumstances particularly trying to friends after a sharp illness of ten days from what we should call acute brain fever leading—and led perhaps by a miserable system pretending to good—to apoplexy. One of the ablest servants of the Bengal Government he had served in difficult and delicate situations with credit and exercised over a large and primitive area power practically unlimited without strain. With this year he was to complete his fifty five years of life. Having joined service late he was not entitled to a large pension. He was poor besides and burdened with a large family having married when a boy of nine. Moreover, he had lived as a gentleman and as became an officer of Government and had in consequence been unable to save. Still he would not stoop to trouble Government and cringe to Secretaries in order to obtain an extension like so many others. He would go out cheerfully and devote the rest of his days to letters for which he had a capacity. Happily for him we have now a worthy man at the helm and worthy Chief Magistrate and officers and Rakhai was known and appreciated. Most honourably the Government of its own motion offered him extension and they posted him to a desirable place with the finest house of any Sub division or even district in the neighbourhood of Calcutta—Baraset. He was about to start when fever arrested. Neither he nor we suspected that it was the hand of Death.

R D H was a man of studious habits and in his later years his favourite subjects were biology and ethnology. His favourite pastime was gardening and he had collected a large number of scientific and prac

tical treatises on the subject. He generally eschewed politics but he occasionally contributed to the periodical press on literary and religious subjects. He evinced strong interest in scientific subjects and became, a short time before his death, a Life Member of the Indian Science Association.

It was the author's original intention to write an account of his travels in Bengal, as he says in a letter which will be found on pp 67 *post*. The constant demands made upon his time by his onerous official duties prevented the realization of this wish. He had often expressed to the Editor his desire to take up this and other literary projects (such as, a life of Rājā Rammohān Roy) after his retirement, but he was unfortunately cut off before the completion of his term of service. About forty years ago he commenced writing an account in English of his visit to Europe. The first instalment of this appeared in the *Hindu Patriot* under his favourite *nom de plume* of Omichund and contained a graphic description of his departure from Calcutta and of his voyage to Madras and Ceylon. The account was never completed. Omichund wrote also in Bengali for the *Somprabās* the premier Bengali weekly of the time as its London correspondent. One of the topics dealt with by him in this connection was the American Civil War which was then raging. The Diary now published was not written in a connected form but consisted of notes hastily jotted down, sometimes in pencil in a number of Memo Books. The Editor has experienced some difficulty in piecing together his

materials, but whatever success he may have attained is to be attributed chiefly to the neatness and regularity which the author observed in the arrangement of his records, as indeed he did in everything else which he ever undertook.

In concluding this imperfect biographical sketch of a worthy countryman of ours, we can do no better than to reproduce a favourite quotation of his from Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*

'Tis the mind that makes the body rich
And as the sun breaks through the darkest clouds
So honour peereth in the meanest habit

DACCA COLLEGE

June 14 1903

HARINATH DE

THE
ENGLISH DIARY
OF AN
INDIAN STUDENT.

1861

THE OUTWARD VOYAGE

11th April, Thursday Started from Calcutta for Europe, per mail steamer *Nemesis*, having bidden farewell to friends Gopal Chandra Majumdar, Jadunath Mukharji, Dwarka Nath Singha, Haran Chandra Chatterji, Sarad Prasad Mukharji, Kanti Chandra Bhattacharji, Mr J C Dowsett, Mr C Cress and Jagat Chandra Gunguli, also a few others who had gathered together at 85 Dhurumtolla Street. The steamer moved off at 9 A M, anchored at Kedgeriee 2 P M. Remarkable objects meeting solitary steamers or sailing vessels here and there, the river is gradually wider and wider, large waves, creeks, buoys, a faint idea of unboundedness, strong southerly breeze.

12th April 1 45 P M Gangasagar Land being left fast behind. Our New Year's Day, *1st Vaisakh 1782*. On the left side, I discern land in the haze of the distant horizon. A tower (probably the last lighthouse) is very dimly visible behind. 2 20 P M Water neither green nor blue yet, but like that of the river

Hooghly in August 2 30 P M Land fairly out of sight began to feel near the sea The stately *Nemesis* is gracefully dancing as it were

13th April Morning, got upon the fore-castle deck and found myself on the deep blue sea The surges breasting and from blue comes white Very strong breeze the ship is lifted up and down and there is a hissing sound to be heard Mr Dill is seasick, and several others also A man died I believe As yet (2 P M) I am not sick though do not feel well No appetite for food the sun is not very hot

14th April Sunday Though the breeze is strong the ship is more steady than yesterday, at least I feel it less disagreeable What would be thought of my present handwriting which is like an old man's scrawl Wonder I can live and move with so scanty food Enjoy rather this sea life this morning, but still shall never think of bringing my wife to sea! The idea of to day and yesterday is not very distinct, strangely enough Though I am not what is usually called sea sick yet the constant heaving of the ship precludes a long chain of consistent thought Slept the whole night on the fore-castle deck Flying fish

AT MADRAS

15th April Nothing visible except two huge circles one deep blue below and the other, a little paler above *About noon saw from the port or cabin window a white bird over the sea which of course

betokens the nearness of land. Madras ahead. Got on deck and saw Madras (*Chennaypatnam*). The facade something like the *gunge* at Chandernagore on a very enlarged scale; or rather the Calcutta strand near the Bonded Ware-house. North and south of Madras are ranges of fruit trees; a hill in the back-ground. Anchored at about 1 P. M. Only a few ships; greater part of them country-made. A great many landing boats manned with people almost naked. One or two rowers in each catamaran or *bheldá*. High surfs, one of them is equal to the bore in the river Hooghly. Got into a boat, which began to dance frightfully, seemingly the boat would be dashed to pieces on landing, but not so actually; it requires, however, some briskness in jumping over. Got safely on shore. The strand, the rows of houses almost red with dust. Went with Mr Dall at the office of one X, a merchant, but came out disgusted with the behaviour of the master of the house. Engaged a *wandi* or carriage at Rs 2-8. for the rest of the day. Being introduced to the Revd William Roberts, we three jumped into the carriage; saw one of Mr. Roberts's schools. Tamil reading of the pupils, a panegyric of Mr. Dall composed by Roberts recited by the pupils; less than 20 present. Felt pleased. Went to Mr. Roberts's house; an extremely poor man, suffering, as he says himself, for conscience sake. Drank coconut milk, helped by Roberts's daughters Lydia and Mary. Ruth, the third daughter, is a babe of about 3 years. Samuel, about 16 years, is Rs son. The wife of Abdul Masih, a Persian convert to Unitarian

Christianity, boards with R's good wife, who regards her apparently as her child. Abdul's pretty little daughter Emily, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of age, is of a melancholy cast, as if she is conscious of her father's absence in England. Refreshing ourselves we came out, we drove through streets lined with detached villas. Mr Dall stopped with a friend for the night. Roberts and myself returned to R's house or hut. Supped and slept rather soundly on an indifferent bed.

16th April Early in the morning prepared an estimate of expenditure necessary for R's support. After breakfast wrote and posted the following letter to Babu Jadunath Mukharji, of the Agra and United Service Bank, Calcutta.

Madras 16th April 1861

MY DEAR JADUNATH

Rakhal Das is at Madras! A curious fact to be sure. Well by and by the thing will be more wondrous still. We arrived yesterday at this town which is within 20 yards from the sea. The surfs are very high resembling *bores* in our *Phigrahis*. When reaching the shore I thought the boat would be dashed to pieces. We got on land safely however. This town reminds me of Madnapore and Cuttack though it is on a much larger scale. It is now impossible to attempt anything like a description of the place.

The sea! A type of unboundedness! One must be on the sea to realize the idea. I was not attacked with the often talked of sea sickness but do not like sea life. Have uneasy sensations—breathe the purest air on earth though.

I leave give my affectionate compliments to our dear friends although I do not particularize their names.

I cannot write find great labour in composition so far as well for the present.

Yours well wisher
H. D. Huttick

I am now at the Revd. Mr. Roberts's.

Presented my cane to R ; returned to sea-shore and met Mr. Dall. Rather enjoyed to-day the *voyage* to the ship *Nemesis*. Unmoored at 1 P. M., was 24 hours at Madras, and drove above 15 miles. Objects : The first Madrasi I conversed with was a broker, wearing a curious turban ; said in indifferent English that two or three students of Colleges at Madras had got the degrees of B. A. and B. L. The letters *da* and *ra* seem to be peculiar favourites of the people. These two letters predominate in all the languages to be met with south and south-east of the Vindhya range. The Madrasis are of stronger make than the Bengalis. I had always thought that the females of the Deccan or Dākshinatya were graceful. So they proved to be. They are more decently clad than women in Bengal. Black, or something akin to it, is the prevalent colour. The inner part of the town reminded me of Cuttack and Midnapore, though with an admixture of Calcutta (so to speak). The streets in the European quarter are broad and kept clean. Town intersected by a broad serpentine canal having a few beautiful bridges thrown over it. Did not notice any tank. Well water is generally drunk. Beautiful groves. Plenty of cocoa-nut trees and palmyras. Bazars, Mathis (abbeyes), rows of native houses, sweet-meats (*Jilebi, ilachidana*) almost the same as at Midnapore or Cuttack. The Government House, light-house, Fort St. George ; the Madras Club, looking like a barrack. The roofs of native houses covered with *khola* or tiles. Houses generally not so

large and splendid as in Calcutta. A great many roads and streets. Varieties of turbans. The politeness of the native postmaster, who took down my name, and felt himself deeply indebted. Stuffed birds etc generally offered for sale.

17th April Steamer moving on. The sea is mild like a river or lake to drive. How dexterously and easily do they spread out sails!

IN CEYLON

18th April Thursday Got on deck in the morning. Discerned in the distant horizon a hill in Ceylon. Gradually a range of hills was seen. In the afternoon pretty close to land, ranges of hills and mountains. Cocoa nut groves, high surfs, indentations of the land. About sunset anchored in the harbour of Point de Galle. Rainy weather. Queer customs. The ship had scarcely moored, when several washermen came on board and asked if clothes were to be washed. They speak Chinabazar English, nothing striking in their features. Wrote the following to Jadunath, but don't know whether it can be sent.

STEAMER NEWCASTLE BEFORE GALLE

Ceylon 18th April 61 8 p.m.

MR DEAR JADUNATH

On the 16th instant I sent you from Madras a hasty note announcing my arrival at this celebrated capital of Southern India. This evening we have safely anchored at the (properly called) the southern point of Lanka the *Southern Lanka* link or rather the Britons. Early in the morning we could

discern in the distant and dim horizon a hill, in a moment, a range of hills was visible and in the afternoon, we were pretty close to the land, so that cocoanut palm groves chains of hills and mountains were as distinctly seen as you could see Chanderiagore from Jagaddal. A Hindu reader of Krittibās might most naturally say that these were the hills which were thrown by Hanuman to crush the might of the monster king of Lanka. Our countrymen generally say that none can go to Lanka, of course indolent and wretched day dreamers cannot come here, since they will not stir, but anything is accessible to the brave. Because of Lanka's other name *Sarṇi* *ṣarṇi* the Arabs etc call it Serenob which is the same thing and its modern name Sinhala or Ceylon is derived from Sinha bahu one of its greatest kings succeeding Ravana. To return to my old narrative a little before arriving at Galle I was in the cabin or state room at my own berth and writing your name on an envelope, which I intended to post to-morrow a gush of water through the window wetted almost everything in the cabin so I got disgusted and went up stairs where unfortunately it was raining the ship also was very disagreeably heaving at the time. Thus annoyed in every way I came down again and finding the candle lighted in the second class dining room sat quietly and began this letter. I do not mean to give you in this anything like a complete account of my travels as I shall write the same in Bengali for the edification of my countrymen if God prolongs my life and enables me to do so. I can only say that I am not very comfortably situated my food is exceedingly scanty i. e. I cannot take sufficient food and accordingly am not stronger than before as I should have been by breathing the purest air on earth perhaps am rather reduced a little. No—this is not the time nor the place to bring out my journal. I will rather recall the days that were—days passed with you and other friends and relatives. How often do you laugh, remembering my frequent calls for *Tamāk* (tobacco). Yet I have not smoked since I left you except at Madras. I see I am able to adapt myself to circumstances. One must have at least 8 eyes to be a traveller.

I have not seen you only for 8 days yet this seems a long time. This place is more than 1300 miles from where you are. I find that to *live* one's country, one must needs be out of it. O, how have I learnt to love my countrymen who are now dearer to me than ever! And is it necessary to add how dear my friends are now to my heart? Please give my affectionate respects to friends and relatives (all of whom I now behold through my mind's eye) though I do not name them. I mention names of the places Jagaddal, Atpore, Chandernagore, Jaunbazar, Taltolla and Dhurumtolla Street and you can easily make out the persons I mean.

Give my best and most affectionate respects to Father, and tell him that God Almighty is my Protector and Guide and—

Anandam Brahmano viduau na bibhetti kutaschana kadachana

May God continue to him also as Protector!

My wife cannot perhaps hear from me until I reach my destination. If any one comes to you or Gopal Babu from Chandipur^o only say I was well up to 18th April so far you know. I cannot write more *the brain becomes so unsteady on the sea that it is difficult to compose*. God bless you and my friends!

Your well wisher

R D HALDAR

P S I have not yet landed, have not seen Mr Dall since 2 P M. If he has already landed I shall probably continue on board the ship. I hand this over to a Parsi gentleman who has offered to throw this into the Post Office Letter Box. I am not quite sure whether it will reach you. Adieu!

The constellation Orion has now come towards the zenith. On this subject we spoke while I was at Calcutta. I am just going upstairs to see the heavens. Good night!

19th April It is continually raining since last night. Sky cloudy. Could not see Orion or the Great Bear.

^o Chandipur is a small village in Faria Rai in Bardhaman, where R D H had married and where he had left his wife before leaving India.

It is the rainy season here. Trying to get on shore I am at Lanka, 10 A M. Before Galle in the morning. People of this coast have each a curved tortoise shell comb on the crown of their head. Splendid cocoanut palms. Beautiful scenery. Got on shore about 10 A M. The town is small, has an old stone fortification built by the Dutch, thinly peopled, narrow streets. Light house. The inhabitants are Cingalese (Sinhalese) Malays, and Muhammadans. The Malays dress Blusi like tie round their head a piece of handkerchief. The Cingalese men have long hair, and have an effeminate look. Beautiful works on tortoise shell boxes made of ebony wood and porcupine quills, and various ornaments. People really excel in such workmanship. In the Bazar almost every shopkeeper exposes heaps of dried fish, (which look like chips of wood) and red pepper. They are clearly a very dirty people. The coasts are rocky. Large pieces of granite seen bare here and there. Quiet and dull life must the inhabitants lead.

20th April Morning before Galle. A little before mid day, off Ceylon. *Samman giri* of Adams Peak is visible. A peep into the Khalasi's room. Curious and motley groups of men and things. Shoals of large fishes.

24th April The deep blue ocean is smooth as a lake, no waves breaking but a graceful undulation is observable. A Frenchman in the course of conversation, said it was no sin to kill Guizot who was one of the promoters of the Revolution of 48. My informant

said he was at Paris when the Revolution took place, and took part in it. Blood—human blood—flowed in streams in the drains, at the massacres. The man talking to me seemed exceedingly vain. A bright and splendid night.

26th April. Watched the sun rise to-day. At 4 P. M. about 10 miles to the north, saw the isle of Socotra (*Sukhatara*), and the Kun isles. They are of course volcanic hills. No land during the last 4 or 5 days. Birds flying. The "Two Brothers" rocks.

27th April. Came upon deck, and saw land on the left side since leaving Gungasagar. Coast of Africa; hills. The ship moves very steadily, and for a wonder, since she has rolled heavily when the surface of the ocean was seemingly more smooth.

28th April. At 11½ A M came on deck and saw Arabian hills as near as 5 or 6 miles. About 12½ P. M. anchored before Aden, a queer-looking place situate on naked and rugged rocks some 300 or 400 feet high, irregular peaks, pyramid-like. A scanty cluster of houses.

Did not go on shore; very hot; no rains for 8 or 9 years past! Not a tree visible. The town is at the foot of the rocks. Felt uncomfortable on account of coar-dust, flying as thickly as brick-dust in a Calcutta street in April. Plenty of fish offered for sale, though not one on the table. Saw a star twinkling and changing as a Kaleidoscope owing to atmospheric causes. The Ishmaelites here resemble those we call "Kaffirs" in Calcutta. They can speak Hindi. Unmoored about 10 P. M.

THE RED SEA.

29th April. 6½ A. M. passing through the *Gate of Tears* [Bab-el-Mandeb] to the Red Sea. Island of Perim. During the day passed by several coral rocks ; at about 9 P. M, the "Seven Brothers" rocks, right hand side.

1st May. Rough sea. This evening was appointed for a play, which some of the passengers had got by heart in order to diversify the monotony of sea-life , but sea-sickness prevails on account of the rolling of the ship

2nd May. Land visible left side. The play "Lend me Five Shillings" performed at night Ship steady

3rd May, Friday Land visible on both sides , view of the " hoary " Sinai at 5½ P. M.

IN EGYPT.

4th May. In the morning left the *Nemesis*, with its spacious decks, its pig-sties, and its miscellaneous company at Suez. Barren hills and desert on all sides. Got on shore by a small steam boat. Went to the railway-station and procured tickets by a local train, not by the mail train, which was dearer. Suez is like a temporary encampment in a desert place. Some lanes are covered over with canvas rags, such is the heat and glare of the sun Excellent oranges and figs. Started at 2 P. M; brushed through the desert, caravans of camels ; hills of moving sand As we approached Grand Cairo,

got a glimpse of the Pyramids Arrived at Cairo at sunset Trees look like wax representations A feeling of enchantment because of the sudden approach from the barren desert Drove in an omnibus to the Hotel d'Orient, Shepherd's being full The Hotel d'Orient is a large three storied building and is well managed Bands playing at night It was my intention to retain my native costume throughout my sojourn in Europe, but as it was quite as cold as the coolest day in December in Bengal I was compelled to adopt the English costume from to-day as being more comfortable

5th May Sunday Awoke by Mr Drill at 4½ A M Drove to the Citadel through the city, which is situated on a hill Houses generally 3 or 4 floors connected with each other The lines are perhaps better than those of Calcutta (the portion of it inhabited by natives) Camels donkeys sweet meats sold in the streets When we got near the Mosque of Malimad Ali situate about 500 feet above the level of the railway station we had a good view of the city The Pyramids at a distance Visited the place where the slaughter of the Mamelukes* had taken place, also the rampart about 100 ft from the next lower level whence Emir Bey had leapt down his horse killed and himself escaped death Joseph's well several hundred feet deep water is brought up by a pump worked by bullocks The Bazar was not opened yet Arabs Turks Greeks French

* In 1811 Malimad Ali by a holes taken were annihilated the Mamelukes and became Vic roy of Egypt

English, and Kaffris Women in veils *Nagardola**. Long tobacco pipes like sticks. Some streets have wooden roofs; some buildings have very large and broad cornices. At 8½ A. M. started from Cairo per rail, the line passing through cultivated country beautiful to behold. Villages from a distance look like brick-hills; almost every village has a mosque with one or two minarets. The Nile though blessing thousands, is a poor river in comparison with the majestic Ganges. Vegetation not being too luxuriant, the trees, shrubs etc. have a neat aspect. Railway stations not so good as in Bengal. Girls and lads with pitchers of water and earthenware, crying "Bixees ! Blue the prevailing colour of costume. Approached Alexandria in the afternoon. The lake, Pompey's Pillar at distance. Arrived at Alexandria. Mr Dall's box and my bag not arrived from Suez. Passed through the city, neater than Cairo. Houses 3 or 4 floors, the square, a fountain at work. Put up at the Hotel d'Europe (10 shillings a day); excellent arrangements. A view of the square from the balcony of the Hotel, variety of people walking about, a more decently attired set than at any of the Calcutta streets. Phretons, donkeys'

6th May, Monday. Accompanied Mr Dall to several places; the American Consulate the British Post Office, the British Consulate (Passport costs 5 shillings and 3 pence). A Roman Catholic Church (refined

* Merry go rounds which are a common feature at village fairs in Bengal. The name used in Eastern Bengal is *Katha chakra*

superstition—*ghanta, dhupa, deepa**) A good drive through the city. Stone buildings. Pompey's Pillar, the shaft is a single piece of granite, noble monument, the pedestal is going to ruin. Cleopatra's Needle†, the base mouldering. The peculiar donkey carriages for poor people. European sailors better clad than the vagabonds in Calcutta. People do not appear to be dissatisfied with their present condition. The windmills at Alexandria. The Pasha's canal (with *bautias*) in digging which 30,000 labourers had been starved to death. A view of the Pasha's palace from the harbour. A large building, or several buildings joined together, situate on a neck of land commanding a view of both the harbours of Alexandria. Nothing imposing. The light house. Dragomans tenaciousness. A* dragoman offered his services in the morning, which we didn't accept, but the fellow worried us till we were actually on the point of leaving the harbour at 4 P.M. On board the Liverpool steamer *Pactolus*.

* *Beil i cense and ci dle*

† Since removed to London and set up on the Thames Embankment. The obelisk originally stood at Heliopolis and was re-erected by Rameses II at Alexandria. It has nothing to do with Cleopatra's nose or with the Pasha's Pillar. It has nothing to do with Pompey. It was erected at Alexandria by Publius Prefect of Egypt in 100 B.C. of the Emperor Domitian to record the conquest of Alexandria in 266. It is a Corinthian column nearly 100 feet high the shaft being of red granite.

IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

7th May Steering towards the north-west at an average rate of some 8 knots an hour. A hazy day. The contrast between the life and bustle on board the *Nemesis* and the stillness on board the *Pactolus* is very apparent. We seven only, including the Captain and Officers, dine together. An Italian gentleman, with his large family on board, suffered much from religious persecution (he being a Protestant) and was an exile for several years past, now returning to "free" Italy. How very chilly in May!

AT MALTA

10th May, Friday. The isle of Malta in the Mediterranean, now in possession of the British Government, looks barren and unseemly from the sea, but as you enter the harbour of Valetta, the chief town, you get a pretty view. It is a most important station to the Government, and so the harbour is well defended. Guns from lofty and strong ramparts are grinning on all sides. Boats and boatmen are neat and orderly. I was struck with the neatness of the streets, the houses, the bazars, &c. People are well clad. Buildings generally made of stone, which is abundant. The Maltese males do not look very fair-complexioned. The females are pretty. I fancied I saw more squint-eyed people at Valetta than elsewhere. In the turns of the

streets you generally find representations of saints &c hewn on the walls. Tilework and mosaic work in perfection. Situate on a hillock, the streets are not on the same level, but are slopes, every street has one or two foot paths for pedestrians. Streets are all stone-paved. Works on coral, lava &c. A visit to the Governor's Palace, more magnificent than anything I have hitherto seen. Some good portraits of George IV, poor Louis XVI, and several others. Fresco painting, marble flooring. The state rooms splendid. The verandas (porticoes) lined with effigies of men in armour. The armoury, 258 feet by 38 feet, contains nearly all the arms of the middle ages in Europe. Double-barrelled guns more than 200 years old. The room lined with men in armour. Original writings more than 600 years old. St John's Cathedral, an old venerable building having ornamented walls inside, splendid paintings. One thing offended me in the Church. A statue of an Asiatic (looking like a native of northern India) in bondage. Applied to Europe and Asia, it was prophetic, but it is a sign of a barbarous age. A native of Africa also is in bondage. Infidels! A Hindu confessing her sins. Beggars in the church, as well as in the streets. Are the lower orders of Christians superior to the lower orders of Hindus in intelligence? I doubt it. A Christian cathedral is infinitely superior to a Hindu temple. A visit to the Florina Garden, which has high stone walls on all sides to prevent the trees from being blasted. The peculiar carriages of Malta.

11th May, Sunday. Walked in the morning into

the interior as far as the old city of Città Vecchia* through villages and cultivated fields. No lofty trees to be seen. Half naked swarthy people (the Maltese are descendants of the Arabs) may be seen in villages. The poor people live in hovels erected with stone, only because they have nothing but stones here. The actual produce of Malta is only equal to 3 months consumption in the year. Started at 10½ AM by the French steamer *Euphrate*, bound for Marseilles. The arrangements are far better than those on board the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's ships. Head ache, laid prostrate all day and night.

12th May. Rose in the morning recovered and with a keen appetite. The French steamer afforded good breakfasts and dinners. Read some chapters of Stephen's "Travels in Egypt etc." We are passing through the Mediterranean, full of associations of the Greek and Roman antiquities.

13th May. In the morning we are passing through the strait of Sardinia. Islands of Corsica, and Caprerà†. A young officer of H. M. S. said that while visiting the excavated city of Pompeii (Naples) last year, he had fallen down into a well 97 feet deep. Stephen's "Travels

* Città Vecchia (old city) is situated on a hill in the centre of the island between S. W. and Valetta. Before the rise of Valetta it was the chief town of the island.

† Ajaccio the capital of Corsica is the birth place of Napoleon I.

Caprerà an island off the north coast of Sardinia is famous as the residence of Garibaldi the great Italian patriot and general.

IN FRANCE

14th May Morning Passing by the south coast of France, rugged and hilly Entered the picturesque harbour of Marseilles after 11 A M and landed in the very heart of the town Passed through the custom house examination and in omnibus carried us through fine land Took quarters at the Hotel du Louvre Leaving our things to take care of themselves we came out to see the lions of Marseilles At the door a daughter of France not more than 7 years of age, pretty as a rose bud offered me newspapers to read Stone paved streets lined with high neat, pretty houses, foot paths thronged with gay and handsome looking people (as if it was a festival) Large omnibuses and diligences drawn by elephantine horses Public walks lined with rows of sycamore trees Excellent cafés, the woman at the counter sitting like a queen on the throne reminding me of the story of our friend the native Sering on board the *Veneris* of his visit to the *Markin* (American) queen and of his reception and of the amicable adjustment of the dispute between his followers and the *Markin* people Glorious gardens, splendid bazars Thousands of well dressed persons walking lounging etc Splendid triumphal arch erected to Louis Napoleon by the grateful inhabitants of Marseilles the eternal fountain You don't see the end of avenues The culture and taste of the French are remarkable

15th May Early in the morning I set myself

near the Notre Dame Cathedral, situated on a hill commanding a view of the city. Good taste pervades everywhere. At the railway station, 7.30 A.M. A booking clerk with a laced cap on his head, a sharp-looking fellow tried to do me out of a few francs but failed. Left Marseilles at 7.40 A.M., passed through a tunnel several miles long. The whole country seemed a garden. Where do the poor people live? Underground? Sundown at Lyons. Not a single revolting object met my eyes. We passed through the valley of the Rhone. Our course was by the Petite Vitesse, and we paid 72.50 francs each from Marseilles to Paris.

16th May Reached Paris, the so called capital of the civilized world, at noon. Passed by the splendid bronze column of July* where once the infamous Bastile† stood. I was so very tired that my senses had become dull, and I appreciated little the magnificence of Paris. We took lodgings at the Grand Hotel du Louvre, a very large and handsome building situated close to the Imperial Palace. In the evening saw the Palaces of Louvre and Tuileries‡.

17th May Breakfasted at Palais Royal. Mounted the Colonne Vendome,§ erected by Napoleon the Great to commemorate the German campaign of 1805.

* Liberty flying at the top—R. D. H.

† Bastile built by Charles V of France as a royal chateau. Louis XVI used it as a state prison and it was demolished by the rabble in the French Revolution July 14th 1789.

‡ Burnt by the Communists in 1871.

§ The column was deliberately pulled down in May 1871 by the Communists but has been restored by the Republican Government.

It is 135 feet high The old inveterate soldiers of Napoleon have offered souvenirs on the 5th instant, the day of Napoleon's death Flower markets A visit to the unrivalled Madeleine Church High Mass was being celebrated Altogether an elysium on earth Omnibus ride through the city Went to the Père la Chaise* Tombs of La Place, La Fontaine Moliere, Abelard and Eloisa† The following lines copied from a tomb stone —

Our hearts best treasure still † in peace and love
 This gentle spirit surely dwells above
 Oh mother † in that bright and holy sphere
 If those so loved on earth may yet be dear
 Pray for us still and teach us to obtain
 The blessed hope of meeting thee again

18th May Walk through the Champs Elysees, the Place de la Concorde‡, where Louis XVI and his queen were executed A visit to the interior of the Imperial Palace The collection of paintings in the Louvre is said to be unrivalled It is especially rich in

* Père la Chaise the great Parisian cemetery is the site of a monastery of which Pere la Chaise confessor of Louis XIV was superior First used as a cemetery after the Revolution in May 1804

† La Place (1749-1827) the celebrated mathematician and astronomer La Fontaine (1621-1695) the French *Æsop* Moliere (1622-1673) the French Aristophanes Abelard (1078-1142) is the well known mediæval scholar and theologian celebrated for his love for his pupil Eloisa (Heloise) the niece of Canon Fulbert who subsequently became Abbess of Paraclete

‡ This is a large open *place* between the garden of the Tuilleries and the Champs Elysees In the centre of it is the famous Luxor obelisk 5 feet high and covered with hieroglyphics brought from Egypt and erected in 1836 It marks the site of the terrible guillotine of the Revolution at which Louis XVI Marie Antoinette Philippe Egalite of Orleans Maximilian Roland Robespierre Danton and hundreds of others were decapitated

the works of the Italian masters Just as the clock struck 4 a Burkandaz drove off all the visitors !

19th May. Morning ramble through the Tuileries gardens. Visited the Pantheon*, Luxembourg Palace, the Palace of Justice, the French Institute After dinner to the Jardin des Plantes.

20th May. Went to the Imperial Library† but found it closed. Visit to the Palace of Industry.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

21st May. Arrived at Dieppe in the morning, a visit to the old Cathedral Left France by steamer at 10-15 A M and a little before 4 o'clock got the first glimpse of Albion At 5 P M set foot on British ground, having arrived at New Haven, near which William the Conqueror had landed A ramble in the fields, and I felt the same sort of joy as I could have felt on reaching back the shores of Bengal How was it that I felt as if I had come home ? Started by rail at 7-25 P M and reached London at 9-40 P M ! The sceneries on the way were not so very pretty perhaps as what I saw in the valley of the Rhone, but yet there was something

* The Pantheon in Paris, was the Church of St Genevieve built in 1762 Next year the Convention called it the Pantheon (after the famous Pantheon in Rome erected by Agrippa) and set it apart as a shrine of eminent Frenchmen

† Now the Bibliotheque Nationale It contains more than a million books and pamphlets, 80 000 Mss., a magnificent collection of engravings and fine collections of ancient sculpture, coins and medals In connection with this library a reading room capable of accommodating 400 readers was opened in 1868

indescribably fascinating in the British scene. We reached our intended lodgings, Butlett's Buildings Hitchcock's Family Boarding House, Holborn at 10 P. M. and such were the hospitalities of the hostess and her pretty daughter that I felt myself quite at home within two minutes of my arrival.

genuine English home. It is simply paradise. Mr Martineau's villa is one of several excellent villas at Clapham. It has a garden attached, and the interior is very well furnished. Mr M is connected with some brewery company, I believe. We rode to Radcliffe's Hotel in London and attended the public breakfast on the occasion of the anniversary of the Sunday School Association. Dined with several eminent men, like Professor Martineau and others. Fell ill from exhaustion.

25th May In the evening visit to the Kensington Museum. I was presented to Lord Brougham. Met Miss Carpenter. Mr Channing, nephew of the well known Dr Channing, acted as my guide. Made the acquaintance of Mons. Le Blanc.

26th May, Sunday Dined at Professor Taylor's* house. Read a discourse on the Unitarianism of the Hindu Scriptures and of Rammohan Roy at the school house Islington. Heartily hand shake with a large number of ladies and gentlemen. People living in cold climates are exceedingly warm in feeling. What are we in the burning plains of Bengal?

28th May Visit to Babu Ganendra Mohan Tagore, son of Babu Prasanna Coomara Tagore, at 38 Kensington Park Gardens, Notting Hill. Tagore resides here with his wife and family and is styled a Professor of Hindu Law and the Bengali Language in the University College, London. He does not live upon his Professor's fees, which amount to a very small sum indeed. After

* A Professor in the University College London

4 P M started by rail for a village called Hadham near Ware, of 'John Gilpin' celebrity, to the house of Miss H Anthony

29th May Enjoying the hospitality of Miss Anthony and her brother in their quiet country house

30th May In the morning returned to London Called on Professor Taylor who gave me a letter of introduction to I Horner Esq

31st May To Whitehall Nelson's monument at Trafalgar Square how miserable in comparison with Colonne Vendome ! But the latter was Napoleon's own monument Returned home with fever Mr Aspland* called

1st June Confined at home Abdul Masih, the Persian convert came, he has been in London these six months, knows very little English has very queer notions about English life If Abdul is to be believed, all Englishmen are rogues and all Englishwomen * * * I tried in vain to correct the prejudices of this uneducated Asiatic

2nd June Fever continues Wrote the following letter to Jadunath —

২রা জুন ১৮৬১

প্রিয় বন্ধুনাথ

আমি লণ্ডনে পৌঁছিয়া মশান অষ্ট বর্ষ অবসায় পড়িয়াছি এবং নান্যাস্থি জ্ঞাপ্তির কোন আশা বোধিত হই না। যদি ভূমিত হইতে পারি এবং হ্রাসে হ্রাসে জীর্ণ করিয়া নেড়াইতে পারি তবে সাহায্য লাভ হইতে পারে কিন্তু আমি ভূমিত হইব ন কখনো যাহা পাতৃক আমি পুণ্যন যন্ত্রের নিবৃত্ত এবং যে আমি নাই তা সারিকর্মের। শিবির দেশে দিগ্বিদ্যা বাইব এহ অমিশ্যে আসিয়াছি দণ্ড তাহা না বট তবে

* The Revd Mr R B Aspland was secretary to the Unitarian Association London

যে নৃসিংগ। নাইয়ার ডেই বোম্বা গোশাল বাবু ক ভিক্টোর পদধারি হিন্দু এম
ব ক। হোমারক লিখিবান, ভাগ গোশাল বাবু ন। আনি স্বর গোপ করিতেছি মানব
স্বভাব নাই। যাব পক্ষান্তর আবার নিকট গুটে গহন। গাইনে তারং উত্তর
বিওনা জ্ঞানমিতি।

ଅନୁକ୍ରମିକ ଆବେଶନାମାଳା ସଂଖ୍ୟା ।

I am under the kind treatment of Mr Dunn
surgeon

3rd June Confined Mr Hutton called This gentleman is a specimen of an old, hearty, jovial and benevolent Englishman, whose company is exceedingly agreeable

4th June Tuesday Messrs E N Dennys and W Forster called, both survivors of a past age dressed in the old English costume Mr Dennys with his long, flowing, gray hair looked like Milton Mr Forster with his long, flowing, gray beard and cap looked like St Paul in the pictures Mr Dennys is the author of the 'Alpha' I corresponded with him in 1856 57 and the meeting with my old correspondent was as agreeable as it could be Both the visitors assured me of their sincere friendship

5th June Called on Dr Dunn till on Ethno-
logy Dr Dunn is a member of the Ethnological Society
and has published pamphlets on the subject of the
human races In the St Pauls Cathedral part of the
afternoon Spoke Hindi with a Punjabee Mahomedan

6th June Called at Mr Horners He kindly gave me a letter of introduction to Sir Edward Ryan Kt.

Walk through Regent's Park Left a card at Mr Hodgson Pratt's * Received a letter and a pamphlet from Mr Dennis

7th June, Friday Received a letter from Professor Max Muller inviting me to the Oxford Commemoration on the 12th June Called on Mr Dennis Walk through Westminster

8th June To Professor Tagore's Spoke Bengali with Mrs Tagore the daughter of the Revd Krishna Mohan Banerji Called on Sir E Ryan at the office of the Civil Service Commissioners, and was kindly received

9th June, Sunday Attended service at St Paul's in the morning and at St Andrew's in the evening

10th June Received a second letter from Professor Max Muller Mr Hodgson Pratt and Mayor Mercer called I had a slight acquaintance with Mr Pratt in India He did not recognize me at first, of course I was with beard now, and a Bengali with a beard is not a common sight.

WITH MAX MULLER AT OXFORD

12th June, Wednesday Started by rail 6 A M arrived at Oxford 8 10 A M 63½ miles Having breakfasted at Roebuck's Hotel, went to Prof Max Muller's

* A retired Anglo-Indian officer who had served in the Education Department in Bengal R D H owed much to this gentleman for his kindly sympathy and help under difficulties Mr Pratt was a particular friend of our eminent contemporary the late Babu Bhudeb Mukharji

house, did not at first find him at home, but when coming out, met the celebrated Doctor at the door, he accosted me at once as "Mr Rikhal Das Haldar, and we soon became personal friends. Mr Dill was also introduced to the Professor. Stopping a few moments at the Drawing room (the house is numbered 64 at High Street) we came down, and the Professor showed us his Library. It is not very large, but very rich in philological works. He read to me a few Sanskrit *mantras* from his edition of the Vedas, also a few lines in Bengali from Ananda Chandra Vedantabagiss edition of Pinchadasi. His enunciation was remarkably good, considering that the Professor has never in his life visited India. We went out, and the Professor took us to his own Lecture room. It was a gallery at Oxford. We went to the Theatre, where the grand event of the day—the Commemoration—was to take place. We found the galleries were being filled, but as it was too early, the Doctor led us to the New Museum of Physical Science. We then hastened back to the Theatre that we might not miss the procession. The galleries were filled, most eminent men were there. Besides the College students, there were distinguished representatives of all classes, statesmen, barristers, doctors, men of science, divines, poets, printers, sculptors and engineers. Some men having their hats on, the undergraduates shouted from the galleries. Hats off! It was 10 o'clock, and cheers began to reverberate in the inside of the building. 'The Ladies!' 'The married Ladies!' 'The unmarried

Ladies !, "The Ladies who wish to be married !, "The Ladies who ought to be married !, "The engaged Ladies !, 'The pretty girls of Oxford' and several others being given, loud cheers came forth 'Lord Derby' was received with applause, not exactly so when "Lord Palmerston was given, and for the name of "Bright a good many groans. The Queen's name was cheered loudly several times. In this first assembly, I found "Liberty and "Bondage together. The procession entered the Theatre at 11 A M. The National Anthem was sung, the Vice-chancellor made the opening speech. A cry was heard 'Why are there no degrees?' No answer. Then began an uproar, which made the public orator sit down. The Vice-chancellor was understood to say in Latin that he would adjourn the meeting unless the uproar ceased. A voice from the gallery *Placet ne vobis, Undergraduali* ! Several voices answered *'Non placet*. Then the prizemen recited the prize poems, amid loud and frequent plaudits. We did not care to hear all the poems, so went out, and passed through Christ's College, and entered the Radcliffe Library. A little incident occurred on the way which amused me. A certain Professor had opposed Max Muller, when the latter was candidate for the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit, Mr Monier Williams being Dr Muller's rival. To-day the same Professor wished to be friends with Muller and wanted to shake his hands. But Dr Muller refused resolutely to give him his hand. The All Souls College Luncheon at 2 o'clock. Made the acquaintance

of Sir Charles Trevelyan, the L^a-Governor of Madras. Attended the musical fête given by the members of the Apollo University Lodge in the New College gardens, over the gate of which is written "Manners maketh the man," being the motto of William who founded the College. Having taken leave of Prof. Müller, who treated me so very kindly, Mr. Dall and I walked through the grove, thence to the Botanic Gardens, and the Magdalen College. We then dined with our excellent host, thanked him heartily for the treat of the day, and returned to London at night.

14th June. Stroll through Leadenhall Street. Saw the old East India House. It is to be sold and demolished.

15th June. Removed my lodgings to 154 High Street, Notting Hill, that is, to the West End of London.

A VISIT TO BRISTOL

16th June Started at 8 A M by rail for Bristol, being bent on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Rammohan Roy. Passed through extremely beautiful country, fully equal to the Valley of the Rhone. I had just time to catch a glimpse of the pretty town of Bath, which is often likened to a theatre. Arrived at Bristol 2 P. M., 118½ miles. I drove to the house of Mrs Champion, who had James Montgomery the poet and several other eminent men for her friends. The maid-servants Eliza Jane and Sarah were standing at the gate, expecting evidently with great eagerness. As the carriage stopped

at the gate they hastened to me and inquired about Jagat Chandra Ganguli who had visited them before me, carried my portmanteau and led me into the house. I was quite at home. The Revd Mr James received me kindly and showed my room. After washing I was shown into the drawing room. As Mrs. Champion was in failing health I did not see her till dinner time, she received me as if I were her son. Such cordial and genuine kindness! After dinner (days are very long here now, the sun setting near 9 o'clock) I went back to Bristol where a number of working men had gathered to listen to a discourse from me. The lecture being over called on Miss Carpenter at Red Lodge House. The lady received me with kindness presented me her own photograph, and that of Rammohan Roy also a few books. We returned in the evening to Chilton and went to the mansion of Mr Browne. I passed the evening very agreeably with this gentleman, his amiable wife and mother in law.

STAPLETON GROVE

RAMMOHAN ROY'S Tomb

17th June After breakfast Mrs. Browne and her mother came in a phaeton. the Revd Mr James and myself joined them, and we drove to the house of Miss Latham. This lady is the daughter of Dr Latham who was brother in law to Dr Pritchard author of the 'Physical History of Mankind' and who attended during Rammohan Roy's last illness. Miss Latham showed us

a cast of Rammohan Roy's head which was taken a few hours after his death on the 27th September, India, 1833*. The Raja's shawl turban was brought out, and Mrs Browne placed it over my head. The turban was made of crimson *alcan* and *hasia* it was a huge thing, literally a load, and was soiled with oil, which Rammohan Roy applied to his head. It appeared that the diameter of the crown of R M Roy's head, was greater than mine by an inch, and my head is by no means a small one, for I rarely find a cap in the shops which fits me well, it is often too small. We then drove to Stapleton Grove, where R M Roy stayed with Miss Castle as her guest in the autumn of 1833. Stapleton Grove is a most lovely spot, and I thought that the Raja's death had taken place in a paradise. We entered the room where my illustrious countryman drew his last breath. The natural sceneries without the windows were indeed enchanting. From conversation with R M Roy's surviving friends I could easily picture to myself the calm and glorious moon light night of the 27th September, when the Raja lay stretched on his bed in a strange land, far away from his childhood's home surrounded by strange people, his case pronounced hopeless by eminent medical men like Dr Pritchard. Miss Hare (sister or cousin of our good David) sobbing with grief

* R. D. H. received from Miss Estlin as a memento a tuft of Rammohan Roy's hair which had been cut off the day before the Raja's death by Mr Estlin at Stapleton Grove. His and some moss taken by him from the Raja's tomb are still in the possession of his family.

beside the dying man, Rajaram the Rajahs adopted son, lying almost senseless,—O! this was a turn of thought which brought tears to my eyes. We then repaired to the spot where the remains of Rammohun Roy were buried, it is 'the shrubbery near the lawn (to quote Dr L. Carpenter's words) under some fine elms. I recalled these lines

This is the spot where needs no sculptured line
 No column marks the Rajah's lonely tomb
 But shadowing elms the drooping boughs incline
 And shroud his cold remains in sacred gloom
 Peclance when o'er [his] loved eternal boer
 The sun of lighteousness shall be shining
 When India's children feel his noonday power
 And angle all in [Brahma's] sympathyes—
 Hither the pilgrim footsteps duly bound
 With fervent zeal these beloved haunts shall trace
 And sweetly solemn tears bedew the ground
 Where sleeps the friend and prophet of the race!

18th June At Bristol Paid a visit to the soap manufactory of Messrs Thomas & Miss Carpenter's Reformatory (endowed by Lord Byron) Shool hands with the girls. Evening party at Mr Brownes, several ladies and gentlemen

19th June Started from Bristol, arrived in London. Gave lessons in Bengali to Mr Yardley. Called on Prof Syed Abdullah in the evening.

A tomb of stone was erected over the grave in the cemetery of Arncliffe by the Rajahs and D. Arka Nath Jagoe and in inscription added in 1822. For further particulars the reader is referred to Miss Carpenter's *Last Days of Panji Rajah Fergal* and to Miss Collet's *Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy*.

† Professor of Hindustani in the University College London. He had an English wife.

IN LONDON

21st June Did not find Mr Denny's at Mr Whitfield's. Prof Goldstuecker* will do whatever he can to assist me. Prof Masson† kindly received me. Received the first letter from Calcutta (J. C. Dowsett).

23rd June, Sunday Called at Sir E. Rims, could not find him, being out of town. According to an invitation called at coffee time at Mr Fawlers, got introduced to Miss Martineau, sister of the celebrated authoress. Harriet Martineau must be an old lady, she is deaf, and is helped by an ear trumpet, she has some pain in her chest, so cannot see callers. She is in north England, and under these circumstances I will not be able to see her. Mr Fowler told me Mr James Martineau‡, her brother, has sought for my address. Well, I must see him. I also expect to be introduced to Mr Newman at a tea party at Mr Fawlers house.

VISIT TO BRIDPORT

24th June Started from Paddington at 9.20 A.M. and arrived at Bridport at 2.30 P.M.,—163 miles. Brother Short took me to his house, introduced me to his lady and daughter and Miss Jones. Passed

* The great Sanskritist who was a professor in the University College.

† Professor of English Literature in the University College.

‡ James Martineau, an eminent Unitarian preacher. He was brother of Harriet Martineau. He was an accomplished scholar and a powerful preacher and has exercised great intellectual influence. (Beeton)

some time at the house of Mr Colfox. Went to the Mayors Court, walked in the garden of the elder Mr Colfox gandharaj and dopati Ter at the Mayors Court. Then read a discourse to a large audience. Speeches by Messrs Dill Short etc. Supper at the house of the elder Mr Colfox.

25th June A rainy morning taking part in the home enjoyments of brother Short and family. A bright afternoon took a drive with Mr Short, Miss Fanny Short and Miss Jones to the sea shore. The sea! Dined at Mr Short's and a little before 6 P M took leave of brother Short and arrived in London at 11 P M.

RETURN TO LONDON

26th June Called on Mr Dennis who in the course of conversation described in glowing language the condition of the poor in London also the manner in which Count Cavour* obtained a peep into it.

27th June Having an invitation to attend an evening soirée at Manchester New College University Hall went there before 9 P M. Introduced to Mr James Martineau Prof De Morgan†, an interesting conversation with Miss Carpenter. Saw also Mr Mudoe at whose Chapel Rammohan Roy used to attend Divine service. Returned at 12 P M.

* Count de Camille Benso di Cavour (1809—1861) a well known Italian statesman. He resided for some time in England and on his return to Turin in 1847 established a journal in which he advocated a representation of the middle classes.

† Augustus De Morgan was Professor of mathematics in University College London.

29th June Gave lessons to Mr Yardley at Mr Ingore's, where I was introduced to Miss Kave, niece of Dr Kave, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta

30th June Saw Sir Edward Ryan at Garden Lodge, in the afternoon Gave a lecture at the Free Christian Church, Kentish Town, where Mr Dennys accompanied me

4th July Saw Prof Goldstucker, who was of opinion that the Vedānta is not an ideal philosophy Not well in the afternoon

A VISIT TO LANCASHIRE

6th July Started at 9 A M by rail and arrived at Heywood in Lancashire, through Manchester (about 200 miles from London) A guest at the farm house of Mr Ashton

7th July Read in the evening a discourse to more than 200 men and women, mostly of the working class

LONDON LIFE

8th July Returned to London in the afternoon Finding Mr and Mrs Biggs's cards on my table called at their house "Mr Biggs with his excellent wife form, an interesting family circle" They are friends of the oppressed

11th July Not finding Mr Dennys at 17 Coventry Street went to see Mr Wyld's Model of the Earth and models of English Life Admission 1s The models of English life are so good that I found myself almost in a

city of the Turl's. Some trophies of the Crimean War, pictures of Indian *nautches* &c. The model of the globe, unique in its kind, 60 feet in diameter, scale 10 miles in inch mountains rise over the ground in proportionate elevation. Heard a lecture on the decrease of land by action of the water, on the depth of the ocean, etc. Then saw a diorama of the valley of the Rhine, the cities of Cologne, Bonn etc. The building and the objects are to be put up to auction on the 13th instant, so that it is fortunate I paid a visit to this unique establishment.

17th July. A visit to the interior of Westminster Abbey (the Temple of Time it is). Thence to the East India Library. Saw the letter of Louis Philippe to Ranjit Singh in golden characters, where he styles himself Emperor. Frenchmen indignant to see it.

19th July. A visit to the British Museum. Besides the curiosities of natural history, showing the imitable workmanship of the Creator, the antiquarian collections are exceedingly curious. The autographs of eminent men, the old books, the Magna Charta etc. The Grecian, Egyptian, Roman, African relics, mummies, (a female, said to be a certain priestess her bones bare) India scarcely cuts a prominent figure. The Museum building is one of the finest in London.

20th July. In the morning to Westminster, not finding Mr Ballantine etc., saw the interior of the Houses of Parliament, the Queen's throne etc. By steamer to Blackfriars Bridge. Thence returned home by the Strand.

21st July. After dinner a visit to the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park. The happy Eagle, the Llama, Puma, Babylonian lioness, Zebra and a few other animals I had not before seen. Some Indian animals—*beji, nekre, bagh* &c.

22nd July. In the morning to old India Board, Dean's Yard; returned and again went to No. 10 Whitehall, thence to East India Office, thence to Westminster Abbey.

23rd July. After dinner a second visit to South Kensington Museum; among other objects of interest, a painting by R. Webster, "A Dame School," interested me very much. It is so life like that I could not easily believe it to be a painting. Saw the building of the National Exhibition for 1862. Mr Dall called.

24th July. In the morning at the Rev Mr Ham's house, Euston Square (at Mr Dall's request) Mr Pratt, Mr. Marshall, Mr Ham, Mr Dall and myself present. Mr. Dall had brought some dozens of written questions which he put to me, and I had to pass a sort of scrutinizing examination, disagreeable to me, but after all it tended to prove that the statements of Mr Pratt in the *Inquirer* are correct, except one or two requiring some modification, viz, that I was absolutely in a destitute condition and that Mr Dall had advised me in India to bring my wife with me. As to my baptism, the gentlemen (with the exception of Mr Dall, of course) thought with my present religious belief I could not be baptised, so that the pledge Mr Dall had taken from me of being baptised in Palestine was null.

and void. It did not bind my conscience. Mr Dill confessed that he had thought that a sight of Europe would make me a convert to Christianity. I told him that it was his mistake. He assured me in the presence of the gentlemen that he is to pay for my expenses here and passage to Calcutta, though I am to pursue my own plans and not his. He withdrew his assertion that I had no home in India.

29th July At Mr Whitfield's. Saw Dr Ballantyne in the East India Library. Thence to the India Museum. Ranjit Singh's golden chair, valuable shawls, filigree work of Cuttack. The models etc.

31st July Mr Dennis called. A walk through Kensington Gardens, Hyde Park, Green Park, to the Mall before Buckingham Palace.

2nd August Unwell. Mr Dennis called, interesting conversation about Mesmerism. He read to me a discourse of his, written in 1858. Took tea under the hospitable roof of Mr Pratt in the evening.

6th August A visit to the Rev. William Adam, the friend of Rammohun Roy. Mr Adam* made inquiries about his Calcutta friends.

* Commissioner of Vernacular Education in Bengal at the time of Lord William Bentinck and author of the Educational Reports and of a thoughtful work entitled *An Inquiry into the Theories of History*. Mr Adam's niece Miss Helen Adam, (afterwards Mrs Withall of Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire) was a constant friend and sympathiser of J. D. H. in England and was his regular correspondent up to the time of his death. In 1897-98 she received Nirmal Chandra, the youngest son of J. D. H. (now a Assistant Traffic Superintendent Indian State Railways) who was prosecuting his studies at the Royal Indian Engineering College, Leavers Hill, with great cordiality. Mr Adam died 11 1881.

7th August Mr Dennis called, conversation about Mesmerism etc, always interesting When I was coming back from a walk I found Mr Dennis on the road returning to his home Accompanied him as far as the Shepherd's Bush

9th August A walk in the morning with Mr Dennis through Kensington Gardens Green Park, St James Park to Westminster Saw Dr Billington in the East India Library A visit to the India Museum In the afternoon accompanied Mr Dennis to his house, took tea with him in his library He read Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner' Saw his excellent portraits On the whole a delightful evening to be remembered Returned at midnight

A VISIT TO IRELAND

15th August At 9¹ A M started with Mr and Mrs Pratt for Dublin via Chester and Holy head A passenger lost a hat and his companions attempted to snatch one from the head of anybody at the railway station Crossed the Channel and reached Dublin near midnight

16th August With Mr Pratt strolled in the streets of Dublin a pretty town peculiar cars, broad streets etc After 10 A M to the Four Courts where the meetings of the Social Science Association are now held Sir John Shaw Lefevre's address on Education Baron Holtzendorf on Police supervision, Captain Crofton on 'Why the community should take an active interest in

the treatment of adult convicts Lord Brougham[↑] spoke a few words in praise of Captain Crofton Mr Commissioner Hills observations on the Irish convict system Saw Miss Carpenter, the Rev Mr Carpenter etc At 8 P M attended the meeting of Members of Literary societies presided over by Lord Brougham in the Round Room, Mansion House, brilliantly lighted and attended

17th August The business of the meeting being over at 1 P M we went to the Zoological Gardens where a promenade was held saw the finest lion and other beasts Introduced to Misses Crug and Corlett In the evening a private conversation at Mr Ls house, and a public one at the Royal Irish Academy

18th August Monday Divine service at Castle Chapel the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Brougham present In the afternoon to the Lord Chancellors house accompanied by his son Mr Brady Dined there

19th August The Attorney Generals splendid address I read a paper on Education in Bengal At 9 30 P M the Lord Lieutenant received 1800 persons in the Dublin Castle, members and associates of the National Association His condescension I had never before seen such a large assemblage of female beauties In the afternoon of this day saw the Exhibition of Paintings and Arts

20th August Among other things Miss Carpenter

* Henry Hoagland (1818-1868) an eloquent advocate of public schooling. Fought for state emigration and liberalised treatment in the case of poor law education.

read two papers. At 8 P. M. conversazione at the Museum of Irish Industry.

[A. B. This residence of a week in Dublin has been of great interest to me]

21st August. Started in the morning from Dublin; reached London before 7 P. M.

LONDON LIFE.

1st September. Passed the evening agreeably with Mr. Wright at Mr. Adam's. Conversation about the living novelists, etc.

6th September. Saw the Rev. Mr W H Fox at Gwalior House.

18th September Called on the Rev Mr Frew, 24 Royal Crescent, Notting Hill. After 1 P M by rail to the romantic Royal Gardens at Kew with Messrs Wright and Adam. Various interesting objects. Returned in the evening.

1st October Went to the Hammersmith Police Court, where a case between Masih-uddin and his English wife is pending, the case was not taken up on account of the absence of Masih-uddin. Dined at Syed Abdulla's.

4th October. At Mr Frew's Gave lessons Thence to Hammersmith Police Court, where the case of Masih-uddin and his English wife was to be decided, but it was not taken up. Came with Syed Abdulla near Masih-uddin's house, where (in the street) a mob had collected. Mrs. Masih-uddin was crying, shrieking and

attempting to jump out of the window her husband was apparently beating her. Returned home in the evening exhausted.

5th October Mr Dill called in the morning. He is returning to India without going to America. I called at the house of Mr H C Robinson*. In the afternoon went to the office of All the Year Round could not find Mr Willis. Thence to Mr Whitfield's where met with Mr Dill.

6th October Breakfast at Mr H C Robinson's, where Dr Boot and Professor Beesh† were present. Heard some interesting particulars regarding Rammohan Roy from Dr Boot who knew him intimately. Dr Boot said he always knew R M Roy to be a theist, deriving his idea from the Hindu Shastras. R M Roy did not like to offend the prejudices of his countrymen so had kept caste and his thread though he knew them to be useless in other respects. He had two Hindu servants with him to watch over his conduct. On one occasion he had said to the Bishop of London that he was perfectly willing to learn what Christians had to say but as long as he was not convinced of his own errors he could not add anything to his simple theism. He had great prejudice against some Scotch gentleman who had opposed him in his endeavours for the abolition of the burning of Hindu widows yet when once the

* Henry Charles Robinson (175-1867) his literary achievements are deservedly his literary, literary and correspondence published in 1869.

† Lord and Spencer Beesh a Professor in the University College London. He is the first of the first of the first.

some gentleman courteously invited him to dinner he complied, leaving a dinner at Dr Boot's. He said he would first respond to the politeness of an enemy, before that of a friend. He was fond of eggs, but would not take successively two eggs in the same glass. On one occasion his evidence was required in the House of Commons with regard to the condition of the ryots, he refused, and said if his evidence was insisted upon he was determined to go to France. But some members came to him and explained matters, he then wrote a pamphlet on the condition of the Bengal ryots*. He took great interest in the passing of the Reform Bill, for he was of opinion that on that depended the welfare of India. Englishmen must be well governed at home before they could govern well the natives of India. He would not go to Scotland because he wanted to be constantly informed of the progress of the Reform Bill in Parliament. He sometimes lived near Regent's Park and before that at Mr John Hares, Bedford Place†. On the whole Dr Boot said he never knew a better

man than Rammohan Roy. Various other topics came in the course of conversation e. g. the admiration for Shaluntala of Goethe and Schlegel with whom Mr Robinson had dined in 1805. Returned at 12½ P. M.

10th October A visit to the Tower of London (Mr Wright presented me with a Guide book). To day is the Durga Pujah in Bengal. What rejoicings are going on at home!

12th October Went with Mr Adam to the Library of the University College London where his books (many Bengali books) are deposited. Introduced to Mr Atkinson Secretary to the College Council. The first time I saw an ear trumpet used.

13th October, Sunday Heard the Rev Mr J Martineau preach in the Little Portland Street Chapel. Text— I can of myself do nothing, and he dilated upon the superiority of moral power. Because Christ had such great moral power he lives and will continue to live, while the pretended prophets are forgotten.

LIFE AT THE UNIVERSITY

14th October Removed to the University Hall in the morning. At 4:15 Mr Fowler read a discourse on the proper method of studying the Bible or Theology in its historical element and moral element. Mr Fowler acknowledged that as a historical study the Bible can hardly maintain its ground while the physical sciences are cultivated. It is the moral element of the Bible

which is so superior He alluded to the peculiarity and superiority of the Jews as a monotheistic nation

15th October Dinner at the Hall at 5½ P M Mr J Martineau, Mr Taylor, Mr Robinson Mr Aspland, Mr Beesh (President) and several other distinguished men present Mr Beesh spoke after dinner and said he had reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the residents in the University Hall, except that he would be glad if some of the gentlemen were more regular at the prayer hour

18th October Mr Pratt called Meeting of the Debating Society, subject, "Whether direct taxation is preferable to indirect

19th October A visit to the Pantheon of London

20th October, Sunday Attended the preaching of Mr Bellew, who has one of the largest audiences in London Rest of the day passed with Mr Eli our nice Principal

24th October Called at Mr Wright's, went with him to the London Institution Mounted the Monument By steam boat to Kings College Called at Professor Abdullah's in the evening

25th October Went to the City in the morning In the afternoon to Rutland Gate Thence through Hyde Park, St James Park to the India Office at Westminster, thence to the East India Library, met Dr Ballantyne Tea in my room with Mr Eli

26th October Called on Dr Forbes thence to Mr Frew, did not find Mr Testro Called at Mr Ingore's, thence to Kings College In the evening with Sved Abdullah

27th October, Sunday Heard Mr Martineau preaching In the afternoon saw Mr Adair

29th October To Kings College, to 178 Strand, to Mr H C Robinson, Sir Henry Ellis would not see me In the evening to the Drury Lane Theatre Mr Brooker as Othello, Miss Simons as Desdemona

31st October To Kings College, the anatomical Museum, the Hospital, Mr Westmacott did not appear In the afternoon with Mr Adair Took tea with Mr Browne

2nd November Saw this morning snow for the first time in my life

8th November In the evening at the Royal Princess Theatre Teeters Othello Disappointed

9th November Lord Mayors Show day Called at (Mr) Syed Abdullas, called at Mr Holloways establishment

12th November A trip to Sydenham Crystal Palace Dined with Mr and Mrs Pratt Mr Wright joined in the evening

25th December Enjoyed Christmas with the family of Mr Schwann *

26th December To Brighton, under the roof of Mr Pratt The Trinity Chapel (where Robertson used to preach), the Pavilion, the meeting of working men on the American question, etc

* Mr C F Schwann M P for Manchester North Division a seat which he has held in the Liberal interests since 1886 One of the oldest and best friends of India in Parliament Born 1844

AT BRIGHTON

1st January. At Brighton, under the hospitable roof of Mr Hodgson Pratt. Took a sea-water bath @ $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 crown

2nd January Took leave of Mr and Mrs Pratt at Brighton, and returned to London by rail. A beautiful day. Wrote a letter to Jaidunath, and told him how beautiful was the sea facade of Brighton, the sea beach lined with pretty houses for miles together, the cool fresh air how salubrious. The chilliness was great, I suffered from cold notwithstanding sea-water baths for three days. My friend Sadrasu Deoji of Bombay, who was residing in London for some years, died a few days ago. I wish to stay in England till October next. Wrote to and told wife that I had received sister's letter. I though I wear a coolie's load of clothes, I bear them with ease. Calcutta mail came (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ P.M.) but none from wife. Our Hall yet empty. College will open on the 7th. From bright Brighton to foggy London.

LONDON LIFE

12th January Saw Professor L. W. Newman* at home. He thought it would be unwise for Indians to attempt to throw off the British yoke now. He is

* Professor of Latin in University College London. As a scholar he ranks as a highly accomplished and able writer.

decided that Christ's name should not be mentioned in religious meetings any more than that of Socrates. Christ was so long regarded as God, that there must needs be a reaction. When men begin to break, they cannot do so softly, and this is natural. The Brahmos had not done well in having mentioned his name in connection with the educational movement, as people were in the habit of throwing stones at him here and could not be expected to support a cause with which his name was connected. However, he would try and should be glad of my co-operation. I informed him that Keshab Chandra Sen was not an elderly person, which N had supposed him to be from his surname "Sen".

18th January London. The day is very cold, I hear the Serpentine canal is frozen, and people are skating there.

19th January London. Attended service at the Tabernacle (a magnificent building) where Spurgeon,* or as he has been surmised the Revd Mr Gonilh, preached. He talked, to my mind, rabidly dragged poor old Socrates on the platform and poured a torrent of abuse on his devoted head, as if the rage of Xantippe † in days of yore was not enough. Spurgeon said Socrates was the most wicked of mortals! Shop keepers of London patronize this so called eloquent preacher.

* Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-1892) a popular Baptist preacher. In 1861 the Metropolitan Tabernacle to hold about 6000 persons was built for him. It was destroyed by fire some years ago and then rebuilt.

† Xantippe was the wife of Socrates. Her bad temper was rendered her name proverbial for a conjugal scold.

happiness and misery is life ' Yet I must say that I am thankful to God for whatever pleasures I enjoy It is enough, if in the midst of life's trials I can preserve equanimity of mind and the resolution to be serviceable to my neighbours I can afford to bear the ridicule of men who are dazzled by mere appearances

29th January London Saw Mr Wright at home There is a likelihood of my being asked to give a lecture to a meeting of the poor in London

30th January Dined with Mr and Mrs Twamley Twamley asked if the English were to be driven to dry out of India what traces would they leave behind *
Received a letter from Mr Corkran requesting a lecture at Islington My subject will be ' A view of Hindu Society

31st January London Received a letter from Syed Abdulla intimating that Newman wanted to see me at Abdulla's house on next Wednesday evening to consider the question of the formation of a committee to aid education in Bengal

2nd February By steam boat, to the Thames Tunnel thence by Blackwall Railway to Camden Town Saw Mr Adam

3rd February To the British Museum in the morning Copied modifications of the Sanskrit alphabet I am never tired of gazing at the Grecian and Roman statues in the galleries In the evening Professor Sharpe's lecture at the College

4th February London Took a bath at 6d At the British Museum compared the facsimile of Lord

raise their sisters in India. Ladies of higher classes might visit the homes of the wealthy natives and hold rational intercourse with the females. A lower class of educated females might be appointed as governesses. Cheap newspapers and tracts might be published for the benefit of those who could read. Mudher objected to the mention of polygamy in the paper which advocated perfect religious neutrality. Mr Newman did not object to withdraw the passage. Some odd remarks foreign to the object of the meeting, fell from the lips of Mr Misson. He brought forth a newspaper containing an attack on Mr Newman for having sent an infidel letter to the Brahmos, who have with great 'infidelity' published it without Mr Newman's consent. This seemed to be meant by Mr Misson as a round about way of allusion to the subject of religious neutrality. I ungratefully called Mr Misson to order (ungratefully, because a little before this he had complimented me as a good English speaker with 'beautiful Scotch distinctness—Mr M is a Scotchman. He could not distinguish me from a well educated Scotchman'). At last Mr N drafted an application to Sir Charles Trevelyan. I copied it (another compliment from Mr Newman as to handwriting—'I don't exclaim Miss Vandy') and it was forthwith despatched. Ned was asking Tagore in Hindi the foolish question—Who correct all these essays etc. written by natives the writings are generally so good that they cannot be thought unwritten by Englishmen. *At last it is my duty*

Jagat !* I at once vindicated the capabilities of my countrymen. Jagore was more gay and free than usual; and he said that Missionaries should not have anything to do with education in India. He laughed at Mr. Masson having said that Dr. Duff was a likely person to join this movement. Dr. D. had called the Indian Government Godless on account of its religious neutrality. Jagore was evidently inspired by the presence of Mr. Newman. He was jocose too; for he said that I was unhappily a married man, or else he would have found me an English wife. Unholy wish ! A few remarks fell from the Inspector as to the insufficient provision the Indian Government had hitherto made for the promotion of education. He said that the spirit of the Education Despatch of 1854 had not been carried out. Practically the Government had discountenanced a sound native education. The anecdote of Lord Ellenborough and Dwarka Nath Jagore. I saw a *बद्धचन्दन तिलक* on the forehead of Mudhar ! How peculiar are men's notions ! I retired immediately after 10 P. M., highly gratified with being three hours in the company of Mr. Newman.

Mr. N. said that the Queen may be solicited to become the patroness of the Normal College and that the epithet 'Royal' may be prefixed to the name of the institution. Mr. N. had thought that the late lamented Prince Albert would have been the most likely person to take up the cause of native education in India, but unfortunately he has left us for ever.

* Cp., 'To measure other people's corn by one's own bushel'

people had applied for grants in aid to schools Sir Charles said before any of the gentlemen present were born the Hooghly College was opened and there were 1300 candidates for admission Sir Charles was not willing to join in a pursuit which was objectless

10th February Went in the morning to Mr Twamley, Regent's Park Conversation with Mrs T as to true religion "Love to God and love to man, the sum total, but liberty of opinion to all Mrs T wished Mrs Haldar had been here Mrs T would like to hear my Bengali song My answers in the examination had given satisfaction to Professor Tayler In the evening meeting of the Manchester New College Debating Society President Mr Tayler Mr Martineau a few other gentlemen and several students present Subject Whether extempore preaching was preferable to written discourses Besides a few students Messrs Martineau Tayler, Preston and one or two others spoke The meeting divided in opinion some preferred one, some the other and some advocated the combination of both Chief plea in favour of written discourse the logical coherence of thought Ditto for extempore the fire of inspiration M related an anecdote of Robert Hall that the early part of his extempore discourse was always characterised by coughing sneezing and rambling R H himself gave the reason that until he completely abstracted himself from the audience, he could not speak to the

earnestness among my brethren Dhuleep Singh would not take up our cause We are trying to find another suitable person I have suggested Lord Stanley's name and Newman has already written to him Herr Szapiri, the Pole, called with Bengali superscriptions of a newspaper foolishly sent by certain Bengalis to England Szapiri compared the condition of his own countrymen with that of the natives of India I sent the following replies to a home correspondent English people do not bathe every day any more than Mr Haldar does, it is enough to bathe once in one month or in twelve by paying half a crown I have paid as much as that in bathing, though generally I take 6d or 1s baths But English people wash well every day There are parcel delivery companies, parcels conveyed in carriages When I buy things at a shop I merely give my address, and they are sent either by a "porter" or by the P D company to my residence

23rd February At London Afternoon service at the old curious Temple Church, the pews of which had been occupied by so many celebrated men The curious tombs of the Knights Templars The sermon was rather bold for a church of England The minister said that human nature was not essentially wicked There is now evidently a tendency in the Church towards liberalism

In the evening at the Metropolitan Mr Holyoake*

* George Jacob Holyoake journalist author and lecturer the founder of Secularism which professes the petty of usefulness as a duty of life chiefly instrumental in procuring the Affirmation Act 1869 Born 1817 An excellent character sketch of Mr Holyoake appeared in the *Press of Retrospect* a short time ago

lecture (extempore) on the Tracts for the priests and the people His voice was rather weak As the lecturer and his audience were all Freethinkers the lecture was of course in favour of free thinking and positive science I could not help noticing the absence of anything like enthusiasm among these Freethinkers

25th February In the evening at the Free Christian Church Debating Club at Kentish Town Morton read a paper on the observance of Sabbath Several gentlemen spoke in favour of a day for recreations though some adhered to grand mamma's opinion

28th February London Bower took tea with me It was settled with him that I should give him lessons in Sanskrit, and receive from him lessons in French, Friday evenings 7 to 8 P M

1st March London At Mr Adams He has an idea that a scion of the Royal House of England should be made Emperor of India He said that many of the opinions he held in early life were now realized

2nd March London Discourse on Native Life in Bengal at the Metropolitan Institution Very well received The Hall was quite full A unanimous vote of thanks passed

3rd March In the morning to the Court of Arches •
Trial of Wilson for heresy

4th March London Returned the visit of Mr Crawford a Progressive Thinker He presented me

* The most ancient consistory court of England the dean of Ely actually held his court under the arches of Bow Church The present structure was the work of Sir Christopher Wren (Baker)

with a beautiful pamphlet *Bread Cast on the Waters* published by him. He would invite me to a tea party of which Dennis would form one.

5th March London. Mr Newman called in the afternoon. He showed a letter of Lord Stanley (whose name I had suggested) in which his Lordship approved our educational project, but was rather doubtful as to success. A movement for religious education would have been different. Ladies could not be expected to join a neutral cause. The education of the natives should be left to themselves. If rich natives of India were countenanced for their public spirit, they would show such spirit. Asked if G. M. F. was a fair specimen of the physical character of the Tagore family. I of course said No. Pirusottam Mudaliar desires the establishment of a society of native Indians in London (I suggested they should be called Delegates). I said Theodore Parker's style was not liked by English people. I was with me for an hour.

7th March In the evening concert of about 800 singers at Exeter Hall (*Lobgesang* and *Stabat Mater**)

8th March At London paid a visit to G. J. Holyoke respectable man showed me portraits of Parker†, Newman, Garrison, Mazzini, Miss Martineau.

* *Lobgesang* (German Hallel) a song probably one of Handel's compositions. *Stabat Mater* a celebrated Latin hymn on the Crucifixion. It was composed by Jacopone and has been set to music by Pergolesi and also by Rossini.

† Theodore Parker. A Unitarian theologian and preacher. Opposed to his views relative to the Scriptures and to the doctrine of Christ. The Unitarian communion of Boston rejected him. R. D. H. bore his visit to England as a violent communication.

Owen, Swedenborg etc. The autograph of Thomas Carlyle, "Do the duty nearest hand," which hangs as a motto in the Temple of Secularism, 147 Fleet Street. H showed a copy of Comte's "Positive Philosophy," a gift from the author, with autograph. Several volumes of Richard Carlile's "Republican," the Oracle of Reason, which could be printed only by the hands of girls, and the "Reasoner," of which two latter Mr. H. was principally the Editor. Before 1830 the Free-thinkers were a feeble, persecuted body ; subsequently Grote, the Historian of Greece, and others established a platform of their own from which they disseminated their principles, without attacking those of their opponents. So the body increased in number and strength. There are now many thousands of Secularists, about four thousand avowed Atheists. These men and women, let it be said, are of high moral principles. Mr. H complimented me on my "English," and said that of all foreigners he had known in England, Mazzini who resided here 30 years could speak and write English intelligibly like an Englishman. I said I was far from being a very good specimen. Mr. H. presented me with some of his atheistical books (which, *en passant*, I am not afraid of reading)

Hence to Mr Dennys, who was pleased with the favourable notice of my lectures. He said that the reason why he does not minge with people in certain

Parker, and on Parker's death in 1839 he contributed an obituary article to the editorial columns of the *Hindoo Patriot* (August 8, 1860) In 1864 Mrs Parker returned to R. D. H his letters to her husband

movements was that they talked in general terms without defining their ideas. People wished to unite for propagating *truth*. Well, what was truth? Let that be settled first. In fact, the moment you define your idea, you disagree with your coadjutor.

10th March Attended Prof Beesh's lecture on the History of Duelling at the Domestic Mission Hall, Spicer Street

13th March London Saw the Exhibition building from outside. It looked like a large ware-house

14th March Meeting of the London Unitarians at Radley's Hotel. It seems that the conservative and liberal Unitarians will soon come to a division

17th March London Abdullah's house; Jagore At the House of Lords in the evening. The course of lectures at the College finished to day

25th March London. I am pretty smoothly going on with my studies at the College, delivering lectures here and there, contributing to the Press, sometimes with success, at others meeting with disappointment of course, acting as professor of languages, translating for the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge, reading newspaper advertisements for Holloway etc. I receive a guinea a column (such as, in "All the Year Round") for my articles, three guineas and rail expenses for lectures, and five shillings an hour for lessons given. My object is to stand as much on my own legs as possible. Without Mr Pratt's aid,

* Then under the editorial control of Charles Dickens

however, my income would have been insufficient for my support

26th March Gave 3 lecture to the congregation at Spicer Street, London

27th March London Attended Mr Tivler's lecture 4 to 5 P M Dr Sharpe's lecture 7 to 8 P M Tea with Browne My favourite song, which I have learnt from Howse*—

Good news from home good news for me
Has come across the deep blue sea
From friends that I have left in tears
From friends that I've not seen for years
And since we parted long ago
My life has been a scene of woe
But now a joyful hour has come
For I have heard good news from home
No father's near to guide me now
No mother's tear to soothe my brow
No sister's voice falls on mine ear
No brother's smile to give me cheer
But though I wander far away
My heart is full of joy to day
For friends across the Ocean's foam
Have sent me good news from home

30th March Harrison's lecture on History at the Metropolitan Saw first proof of Mr Adams work on History

* The Revd Mr Edward S. Howse B A the author's fellow resident at the University Hall Gower Square Mr Howse invited R D H to spend the Easter of 186 at Rev n^o and they went together to Shakespeare's birth place Stratford on Avon Mr Howse subsequently took orders

31st March Account of my expenditure for March,
1862—

	£	s	d
Hall bills	4	1	0½
Sundries incl. size of repairing watch			"
lunching out &c		12	11
Stamps		5	3
Bus charges		"	6
Books and Stationery		5	1½
Articles of clothing and shoes	1		0½
	6	11	10½

2nd April London Pratt's amusing lecture on "Calcutta Life", illustrated with drawings at Spicer Street. At the conclusion, the lecturer uttered a few serious and characteristic sentiments. The evening was miserable as to weather.

5th April Observed for the first time crows flying in England.

6th April At London called at Newman's in the afternoon and found him engaged in writing subscriptions on the Calcutta appeal to the British nation to be sent to parties in this country. A large number of penny stamps lying before him on the table. What disinterested philanthropy! He maintained the necessity for a priesthood though not a paid one, at the same time acknowledging the difficulty of obtaining priests who could find support otherwise than by priestly labours. He said that while he was yet a Christian he approved the mode of the Quakers having no priests but now thought that without priests (meaning teachers) religion could hardly flourish. He approved

of written sermons being read before congregations, and I thought that those who attempted to treat their audience with original sermons every week, generally failed. N has mentioned my name as the party who would receive communications in response to the appeal of the Brâhmo Samaj. This has been mentioned in a printed circular. In the evening at Mr Adams, saw 96 pages of his work on the Theories of History in type. On my telling N that the natives of India were so intent upon a future life, that they neglected the duties of the present, N said 'Tell this to Holwell, the Secularist, and he will use the fact to some purpose. Masihuddin, who has resided in England 5 years, told me (his opinion being asked) that the English were clever in the things of *this* world.

10th April London is in a bustle. Houses on the streets are being painted. The whole of Europe will be together here three weeks hence. What a privilege to be here just now! Very chilly, I have still to light the fire.

17th April London. Used Mr Slater's magnificent Equatorial Telescope at 1,6 Euston Road. It is one of the most powerful instruments of its kind in England.

ENGLISH COUNTRY LIFE

16th April, Wednesday Drove a little after 4 P. M. with Mr House to the Waterloo Station. It occurred to me at some distance from the University Hall, that we had omitted to bid good bye to the Principal, but

I consoled myself with the thought that as the custom is to ask his permission to *stop* at the Hall during vacations, it was not particularly necessary to ask it on leaving the same. The day being tolerably clear, saw the somewhat misty grandeur of the commercial metropolis of the world while passing over the Waterloo Bridge. On the right side appeared the towers of the Houses of Parliament, the Westminster Abbey etc., also a huge stone lion looking towards the Thames—a sort of statuery, in which the British excel. On the left, were the cloud capped dome of St. Pauls and the steeples of churches soaring far above the height of ordinary buildings. Steamers were plying in the river with the rapidity of the eagle in the air. Of course, all things combined, make London the focus of life. But the Thames is a puny stream, in comparison with our glorious ones in India. and we crossed it almost in no time, leaving the extensive view of the town behind. Waterloo Station is neither so large, nor so splendid as some of the other stations, this being the first time I saw it. At 4.45 the iron horse neighed and began to move on so high a level that the tops of houses appeared quite within reach. What a change from the smoke and bustle of the city to the green beauty and quietness of the country! The day being a tolerable one the delight was unalloyed. I passed through Ascot, celebrated for its horse races. The country around is rather desolate, in the horizon rose a few Scotch firs exactly resembling the palms, and so I was forcibly reminded of some parts of Bengal. Alas! Bengal can be

generally compared with only the bad or indifferent features of England ! Arrived at Reading (44 miles from London) at a little before 6-30 P. M. Mr. Henry Howse, Miss H. and Miss Austin were waiting for us ; and we lost no time in sitting down to tea. Of course, Miss H. was at the head of the table. Tea was preceded by prayer and hymn accompanied with the organ, an instrument which I saw for the first time in a private gentleman's house. Having thus refreshed ourselves, we retired to the drawing-room, and I was invited by the ladies to play at chess. The ladies beat me unmercifully twice, and I had then recourse to the Photographic album. Piano was played, and Miss A. and Messrs H. sang till supper was ready below. Retired to bed after 11.

THE BISCUIT MANUFACTORY AT READING

17th April. Breakfast 8 A M At 10, Mr E S H. and I walked to the town of Reading, which is small, but old enough to contain a few buildings of the style of the 17th century. I looked into the corn market, and it appeared to be a model of its kind. Seats are properly arranged, and the place is carefully kept clean. There is a Post Office letter box too. Went to the biscuit manufactory of Messrs Huntley and Palmer. Mr. Palmer having ordered the foreman to show us the various parts of the works, we were conducted through the Factory, and were shown the process of

making biscuits and cakes from the state of flour to that of eatables, and further, we saw them packed in tin boxes and butts, ready to be delivered to the waggon drivers. An engine of 25 horse power and a complement of more than 600 men, women and boys are at work. By one part of the complicated machinery flour and butter are mixed the same process is carried on through different stages at different places. In another place the pulp is pressed into sheets, which passing through rollers are stamped and cut into round biscuits. These are placed in the oven pass through it and fall on the other side ready for eating. It is impossible for me to describe the process. It far transcends anything which the Hindus imagined. Various sorts of biscuits and cakes are made plain and ornamental several boys are engaged to give to the latter various shapes and the activity of the boys is truly marvellous. We could not ascertain the quantity of biscuits that was made during a given time. Reading biscuits are celebrated and sent to all parts of the world and may of course be found on the tables of Calcutta Babus. It took nearly an hour and a half to walk through this curious manufactory. Last summer I saw the wonderful soap manufactory of Messrs. Thomas at Bristol and I believe that the biscuit manufactory is equal to it in the ingenuity of its product.

THE JAIL AT READING

Returned to the house of Mr Howse for a while, and then the two brothers H and I went to the Jail. It is an improved model Jail looks from outside more like a splendid college than anything else. Tidiness marks most things English, and even when we had entered the building we could hardly believe ourselves within prison walls, such is our general idea of a prison. Having waited a minute or two in a neat little room a warder bade us follow him, and we passed on to the centre of the building which is erected in the form of a cross. From the centre you see vistas in four directions lighted by the entrance door or large windows at the furthest ends. The prisoners were engaged in work, each having a mark on his face. They are not allowed to exchange a word or look with each other and the building is accordingly constructed. In each room, works a solitary prisoner. There is room for twenty men performing exercises without seeing each other. The cells contain such articles of furniture as are absolutely necessary: there is good ventilation wherever the prisoner wants anything he rings the bell and it is so admirably arranged that the moment the bell rings a plate of brass projects from the wall outside and as the number of the prisoner is marked on the plate the warder has no difficulty to know by whom he is called. There are excellent baths and the prisoners are allowed to bathe once every month. The building is supplied with water heat etc by a steam

engine, the temperature allowed to the prisoners is about 50° Fahr. We then passed down to the kitchen, which was as clean as could be wished (in fact English kitchens are very different things from our dark, dingy, and smoky rooms). As to diet three meals are allowed during the day. Males have 8oz (malted) bread, and females 6oz each time. The bread is brown of course, but we thought sufficiently good. Breakfast (8 A.M.) consists of bread and gruel. Dinner (1 P.M.) consists of bread and meat and tea (5 P.M.) consists of bread and tea. Rice and potatoes are allowed as vegetables. I examined the rice and found it to be good. Whenever the surgeon recommends extra diet is given. Saw some excellent mats of cocoanut fibre sold at market price. Prisoners are employed on more or less hard work according to their physical capacity. There is a chapel above, the pews are so arranged that the prisoners cannot communicate with one another while everyone is within sight of the chaplain. The governors, the chaplains, the surgeon and the teachers visit the prisoners as often as every day. Refractory prisoners are condemned to the gloomy cells and to reduced diet. The warden said that not unfrequently do some of them prove refractory. My visit to the Jail impressed me with the idea of the great improvements made in criminal jurisprudence within the last thirty years.

EXCURSIONS AT READING,

The ruins of Reading Abbey are quite close to the Jail and we walked through them and also got on the mound which was raised during the Civil Wars, to defend the town and which is now planted with flower trees. At the centre of the mound is a tolerably large gun the mouth of which is stopped as some powdies had once frightened the inhabitants of the town by firing it. The ruins of the Abbey* show that it was originally a magnificent building. There is a tale entitled, "A Legend of Reading Abbey" which was published by Charles Knight.

Returned home, and not finding the ladies we went to Three Mile Cross to see the house of Mary Russell Mitford † the authoress of 'Our village etc. Long ago I had read about her and her residence in that delightful little volume, Pen and Ink Sketches of Authors. The house of Miss Mitford is a remarkably small cottage of red bricks, situated on the side of the road leading to Southampton. There is nothing poetical about it, and it remains at present unoccupied.

The day being fine, quite equal to our glorious spring days in Bengal, we enjoyed the walk very much and returned at dusk. A little after tea Mr H celebrated the Lord's Supper. I was present during the service,

* The great abbey was founded by Henry I who with his queen and eldest son were buried there. It lasted as the third in the kingdom of England.

† Mary Russell Mitford (1748-1855) a modern authoress who adopted literature as a profession. The house visited by F. D. H. and in which she died was called 'Sally's little Cottage'.

but of course did not take part in the communion. I make it a point of joining the Christian service when possible, especially in a family, and do not object to kneel during prayer, while my own theological opinions are well known. Passed the night in profound sleep

A VISIT TO NEWBURY

18th April In the morning went by rail with Mr E S Howse and Miss Austin to Newbury (about 17 miles). Mr R Shelley met us at the station where we were also joined by Mr H Preston of London. Shelley showed us his little baby, three weeks old. Dinner being over Howse and I walked through part of the town and alongside the canal. At 3 P M Howse preached at the Presbyterian Chapel. At 5 there was a tea meeting at the Town Hall, more than fifty persons were present. Shelley, Preston, Howse and several others spoke. Being requested to speak about India, I said a few words regarding the obstacles in the way of enlightening our country. The meeting lasted till 10 minutes to 9 P M. Supper at Shelley's four ladies four gentlemen, one boy forming the party. We were scattered during the night, sleeping in different houses. This was Good Friday, and the day proved good indeed.

19th April Newbury. Breakfast at Shelley's. The morning looked inauspicious, the sky was cloudy and a few drops of rain had fallen. Eventually the day appeared to be the best for walking abroad. Miss Austin, Howse, Preston, Shelley and myself went out

and passed through hills, dales, woods, meadows, and
 purling streams, the glories of England—all that inspired
 her favoured sons and daughters. What wonder that
 Englishmen in India should long for 'home', such an
 exquisitely beautiful and sweet home as this? Howse
 made a very just remark that the secret of the greatness
 of England was the readiness with which Englishmen
 could abandon this paradise of existence for the toil
 and hardships of the battle-field when their country's
 interest was at stake. Yes this is true heroism! We paid
 a visit to a snug little village church, which was being
 decorated with flowers on account of Easter Sunday.
 It is worthy of remark that we had to leap over several
 hedges, while having a lady with us. We had no diffi-
 culty in helping her to jump over the partitions. What
 an affair it would have been if we had a Hindu lady
 with us! Newbury was the scene of two battles during
 the Civil War. Returned to Reading in the afternoon,
 and spent the evening and night quietly, being a little
 knocked up by walking up and down hill for several
 miles.

AT READING

20th April There is no Unitarian Chapel at
 Reading. Mr. Howse, senior, holds service at his own
 house, where a few friends join him. Service and
 dinner over, Mrs. Austin and I went out to take a
 quiet walk and trod more than two miles through
 parks, lawns and gardens and saw the town of Reading

to the best advantage Miss Austin a lady of 20 or so had courage to be sure In the evening, service was again performed and we early retired to bed

WINDSOR CASTLE AND STOKE POGES

21st April Started at 8 40 A M by rail for Windsor with Miss and Mr E H The Castle answered my expectations from a distance, but on nearer approach I found the walls to be built of roughly hewn stones a species of building I do not like The older portions have smooth walls but the rest and the greatest part is modern looking and is really so Unfortunately the state apartments and the Queens were not open (since the demise of Prince Albert) and I thus lost the opportunity of comparing the magnificence inside with that of the Palais du Louvre (in) Paris Attended service at St Georges Chapel (Royal) which looks old and inelegant from outside but is really very rich and handsome within I sat close to the X seat of the Earl of Chesterfield After service we went up to the battlements of the Round Tower and got a very fine view of the surrounding country The Chapel and College at Eton were within sight and of course we required no other inducement to walk thither so leaving Miss H on a terrace of the Castle we reached the interior quadrangle of the College within 20 minutes As it was vacation time no students with caps and gowns could be seen Nor could we

enter the old Chapel though we tried to do so / turning to the Castle we engaged a brougham and drove through the Long Wall up to the hill where the huge equestrian statue of George III is placed The view from this place is really splendid, the Castle is seen at a distance of three miles through the vista of the double row of trees, while on other sides lofty trees and parks are seen We then drove through the Forest, saw herds of deer and numerous oak trees planted probably in King Alfred's time, tarried a little under the favourite tree of Queen Adelaide, and arrived at the pretty station just in time to catch the train We were to pass within three miles of Stoke Poges, where the remains of Gray are laid, and it would have been a piece of unpardonable folly to have missed the opportunity of visiting it We accordingly obtained permission of the Station Master to use our return tickets for a subsequent train, and drove to Stoke Poges Three quarters of an hour had scarcely passed when the steeple of the country church was in sight I had read Gray's Elegy with tears in my eyes and my feelings may be easily imagined when I entered the churchyard where the immortal Elegy was composed

My blood with intense pleasure thrilled

The country around is poetic indeed I collected a few ivy leaves* from the ivy mantled tower stood under the identical 'shady vew tree, and saw other objects alluded to in the exquisite Elegy I copied the

* The ivy leaves collected by R. D. H. in 1862 are carefully preserved by him and are still in the possession of his sons

following sentence engraved by Gray on his mother's tomb, where he was buried himself on the 6th August 1771 — "Dorothy Gray, widow, the careful, tender mother of many children, one of whom alone had the misfortune to survive her. The monument* by no means an elegant one, erected to Gray is about three hundred feet off the church yard. The distant spires of Eton College and the "antique towers" of Windsor Castle may be seen from this place. As we drove back I looked longingly on the picturesque church steeple and regretted that the tolling of the curfew and the parting day were wanting to complete the picture given in the Elegy. The human mind is satisfied with nothing short of perfection

AT READING

2nd April At Reading. Kept at home. Acted as pressman in the press at Mr. Howse's study. Collected facts and anecdotes† with regard to Rimmolan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj from books in Mr. Howse's library. Could not help reflecting how sad is the

* In 1799 Mr. John Penn, the owner of Stoke Park, caused a large monumental cenotaph to be erected to Gray's memory in a field adjoining the churchyard at Stoke. (Bradshaw's Gray, Macmillan 1891.)

† Various facts and anecdotes were collected by P. D. H. from original sources both in England and India. These were stolen from the possession of the editor at Bristol about seven years ago. Some of them had been lent on R. D. H. to the late Miss Sophia Dobson Collet and were made use of in her *Life and Letters of Rimmolan Roy* published after her death in 1900 by Mr. Harold Collet, 10 B. Chesham St. London.

want of zeal and appreciation in our countrymen of historical and biographical records of important events and personages. It is assuredly a shame for our country that certain facts connected with India or Indians could not be found in India itself but in England. In the evening singing, the piano being played by the ladies. The weather has changed. There were to-day a few showers of rain. The sky looked cloudy. My own wonder is that we had 4 or 5 bright days successively. My health is as good as I ever enjoyed in my life. I take a good deal of exercise, eat heartily and sleep soundly. This short sunny period of my life is worth recording, to be called back, if it so happens, with pleasure at some subsequent day.

23rd April Started from Reading by rail at 1.55 P. M., passed through Oxford, recalling the Commemoration Day 12th of June, which I passed with Professor Max Muller, tasted the Banbury* cake on the way and arrived at Coventry through Leamington about 3 P. M. A carriage sent by the Misses Freeman was waiting for us (the two brothers Howse and myself) and we reached Ryton in an hour. Walked to the Brandon station to meet Mr. Twamley from London. While the brothers Howse, Carpenter (Dr. Carpenter's son) and I were standing on the platform the conversation turned upon the late great battle in America. The *New York Herald* has stated that about 20,000 of the Federals and more than 35,000 of the Confederates

* Banbury a market town and borough of Oxfordshire noted for its cheese and cakes

have been slain, this Mr E H regarded as a defeat on the part of the Federals, as he thought that they have understated their own loss and exaggerated that of their enemy. I said, 'Here is a rule laid down by an Englishman, that a party understates its own loss and exaggerates that of its enemy. Accordingly, when the English nation are engaged in a war with another and give an account of a battle we are to make the same allowance for what may be stated to be the number of the slain and wounded on both sides. Mr H replied 'The English are not Americans, they are distinct nations now, the former are noted for their love of accuracy and truth. I of course rejoined

You English have always some reason or other to speak in your own favour. The truth is that I do not believe in the correctness of what is generally stated during the time of war. If the English nation make an inaccurate statement it is apparently justified by their greatness.

Mr Twamley not arriving by the London train, we returned and were caught on the way by a shower of rain when Mr Henry Howe took shelter under a hedge. April showers are said to bring 'May flowers. I was shown into a richly furnished bed room in the house of Miss Freeman as the place where I should sleep while I stay at this charming village of Ryton. From the window I obtained a view of nature which baffles description. The bowling green like a green sheet of velvet, the lawn, the cedars, the poplars, the flower beds, the fields in the back ground altogether

make it a specimen of the loveliest landscape. I have of course seen before this places of this sort but had never occupied for any length of time a room overlooking so exquisite a landscape as the one of Ryton.

At tea the Misses Freeman and their sister Mrs. Twamley, the brothers Howse, Carpenter and myself formed the party. Mr. T. arrived late in the evening, which was spent in singing, chess-playing etc.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

24th April. In the morning, after breakfast, Miss Mary Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. Twamley, the brothers Howses, Carpenter and I started in a carriage for Stratford-on-Avon. The country through which we drove was very beautiful. We passed by an oak-tree said to be in the very middle of England. A little after 10 we arrived at Warwick Castle. The entrance to the Castle is grand. Near the gate there is a room containing relics of antiquity and a funny old woman showed them to us. A huge cauldron is in the centre of the room, said to have been used for preparing punch. A very heavy shield and a sword are shown as used by some giant of by-gone days. I considered them as an imposture. A large piece of bone is said to be a rib of a gigantic cow called Dun Cow* and the

* According to a current fable the dun cow of Dunsmore heath was a savage beast slain by Sir Guy Earl of Warwick. According to Isaac Taylor dun cow is a corruption of *Dena Gau* or Danish settlement in the neighbourhood of Warwick. If so, the story refers to Guy's victory over the Danes.

questioning her whether it was Shaksperes own The church should more appropriately be sent to the British Museum There is a visitors book kept and I wrote in it my name—a pilgrim from the far Ind Having walked awhile in the garden we went over to the Trinity Church at some distance from Henley Street The church is an old and large building, not in keeping with the little town of Stratford There Shaksperes remains are buried His grave has these lines, *without his name* —

Good friend for Jesus sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed here
Blest be the man that spires these stones
And curst be he that moves my bones *

The monument with the bust stands on the adjoining wall The bust is coloured and is said to have been originally so Malone had for some time had it white washed and had the honour of meriting the following epigram

* On Tuesday April 23 (1616) I died at the age of fifty two On Thursday April 5 (O S) the poet was buried in the Stratford Church near the northern wall of the chancel now I as part owner of the tithes and consequently one of the rectors he had a right of interment Hard by was the charnel house where bones dug up from the churchyard were deposited Over the poets grave are inscribed the line Good friend for Jesus sake &c According to one William Hall who described a visit to Stratford in 1694 these verses were penned by Shakepeare to suit the capacity of clerks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant set of people Had his curse not threatened them Hall proceeds the sexton would not have hesitated on course of time to remove Shaksperes dust to the bone-house (A Life of William Shakspeare by Sydney Lee Smith Elder and Co 1899 pp 72 73)

Stranger to whom this monument is shown
 Invoke the poet's curses on Malone
 Whose meddling zeal has barbarous taste displays
 And daubs his tombstone as he marred his plays.

From the Church we went to the village of Shottery where Shakspeare wooed Anne Hathaway † Hathaway's cottage is much in the style of Shakspeare's own house and it is now occupied by a female, a collateral descendant of Anne, though the land now belongs to one Mr Thomson I sat on an old bench, which is said to have been occupied now and then by the poet and his bride We were taken up stairs and were shown a curiously carved bedstead of oak which has a wooden roof The occupant of the house is in a state of poverty

Returning to Stratford we went to the school where gentle Willie was educated and saw the desk at which he used to sit As it was not yet 4¹ P M the time fixed for dinner, we went to the Town Hall which was dedicated to Garrick There is a fine life sized portrait of the poet in this fine hall, on the opposite side is a splendid portrait of Garrick encircling a bust of Shakspeare with his arm The annual Shakspeare dinner was celebrated only the night before

We came back to the Red Horse Hotel and crossed the Avon by the Clapton bridge, saw a swan nestling and another playing on the Avon—a

* This is no doubt an allusion to the undue liberty taken by Malone in tinkering with the text of Shakespeare's plays

† On the way I had the honour of receiving a gift of a better cup flower from a pretty little girl herself looking like a rose bud —R D H

circumstance which put me in mind of the stability of the characteristics of nature in England Walked on the lawn near the bank of the Avon View of the Church

At the town of Stratford the name, bust and portrait of Shakspeare are met with almost everywhere We saw a "Shakspeare Iron Foundry" As to portraits and busts we saw them of all varieties and as different from each other as possible It seemed to me that a high forehead and a bunch of hair on each side of the temples and a French beard make up according to English notions a bust of Shakspeare

We bade farewell to Stratford upon Avon at 6.30 P M, every one of us gratified by the incidents of the day, myself somewhat proud of being (apparently) the first Bengali who has paid a visit to this poetical shrine

We drove by the Charlecote Park famous as being the place where Shakspeare had stolen a deer* As a matter of fact we saw scores of deer grazing in the beautiful park We reached Ryton about 10, and I went to bed immediately with a severe headache

RYTON ON DUNSMORE

25th April A most splendid day, but I was dead to it Somewhat relieved before sundown we began to play at bowls There were six players and four ladies sat in the veranda of the house to witness the game

* Refers to the well known story of how he was brought into contact with Sir Thomas Lucy

It was the first time I played at bowls and I did not bring discredit on myself if the ladies were to be believed. Of course it was the occasion of the dinner that had brought together the gaily dressed ladies, and I must here describe an English dinner party.

At a dinner party the ladies wear a light and fanciful dress, but those of the house less flashy ones. The gentlemen have black cloth trousers with that abomination of a dress coat on which has been lately justly described to have been adopted in imitation of crows. The party at first assemble in the drawing room and when the dinner is announced to be on the table each gentleman takes a lady by the hand and passes into the dining room. The lady of the house is at the head and the master at the bottom of the table. Soup is first served next comes fish which it is etiquette to take only once. Fish is followed by meat curry (which they always prepare in consideration of my being an Indian but which is as different from the genuine Indian curry as two things can possibly be) etc. Then come pudding and tart which are followed by cheese and green vegetables. The table is then cleared and both fresh and preserved fruits are laid on it with wines. These over the ladies retire to the drawing room while the gentlemen continue to sip wine and chat. I asked myself Why do the ladies retire before gentlemen? and came to the following solution. Englishmen of former days were in the habit of drinking hard as the spirit drinkers in Bengal now are. They would begin to be more than merry after dessert, and

so the ladies would very discreetly retire before the gentlemen would attain the height of their glory. Within an hour or so after dinner tea is brought into the drawing room and is taken either standing or sitting, while light conversation is going on. The subsequent part of the evening is passed in playing on the piano, at chess, backgammon, looking at picture portfolios scrip books or in rational conversation. Thus the enjoyment at an English evening party is very great.

27th April A fine morning. Mr Twamley, the brothers Howse and Carpenter went out to walk, and I stayed at home and sat under a tree and manufactured a few verses in Bengali. Late in the afternoon Miss Freeman, Mr Twamley and I drove to the old town of Coventry. Saw the splendid old cathedrals built in the 14th or 15th century and admired the zeal of the Roman Catholics which is shown in their buildings. Hindu temples are wretched indeed in comparison with them. On a niche at the corner of a street in Coventry is a bust which is called the peeping Tom, and thereby hangs a tale. It is said that Lady Godiva of old finding that the riots of her husband the Rjah* of the place groaning under great oppressions frequently interceded on their behalf. The Rjah at first would not hear of anything. Too often solicited he became incensed and said that if Lady Godiva could ride through the town stark naled he would grant her request. This was thought by the Rjah to be an

* Leofric Earl of Mercia and Lord of Coventry. The story has been re-written by Tennyson in his *Codica*.

obvious impossibility. But the Rane was earnest about ameliorating the condition of the people and so consented to do what was desired. A proclamation was issued that all men in the town should shut themselves up. Lady Godiva rode through the town to the satisfaction of all classes. There was a tailor called Tom whose curiosity surmounted his gratitude. He peeped through the window as the lady rode past naked and was accordingly struck blind by Providence. Whether true or false, the inhabitants of Coventry have founded a festival upon this tale, an annual fair is held with procession in which a lewd woman personates Lady Godiva. Of course this is a licentious festival, but the Coventrians wish to gather people from a distance by this attraction that they may sell their goods. I find in the Coventry newspapers that the matter is now discussed, some writing in its favour and others protesting against it.

Went to the Unitarian Chapel conducted by Mr Hervey, and felt pleased both with the music and the sermon on the evil effects of drunkenness. Returned to Ryton after sun set and the evening was passed in singing etc.

28th April At Ryton on Dunsmore. A splendid morning. After breakfast Twamley, Henry Howse, Carpenter, and myself rode to Kenilworth, and paid a visit to the interesting ruins of the Castle memorized by Sir Walter Scott. Conversation with an old lady who feelingly spoke about the poor workingmen of the district earning 9s a week. She told an anecdote

of a servant girl who was in raptures on having pudding to eat for the first time in her life. Returned to Ryton before 3 o'clock, took leave of Miss Freeman at the Brandon Station thanking her heartily for the hospitable reception she had given me. Started from Brandon at a quarter to 7 and arrived at Euston Station at half past 9, greatly pleased with the excursion.

It is worthy of remark that in a village in England, if you drive in a good carriage, you are now and then *salaamed* by rustics. Touching the hut in England, and showing the back bone in India, though different in expression, are one and the same act in principle.

IN LONDON

1st May London. The opening of the Great International Exhibition. Walked through the crowds of people. A better conducted crowd I had never before seen. I observed that the troopers were encroaching upon the people with their horses, as the people were coming within the line intended to be kept clear for the procession. The people, however, were taking this encroachment in good part, they were ringing the atmosphere with peals of laughter. In the evening I went to the House of Commons.

2nd May London. Saw Pratt at Wright's office. Received a telegram from Satyendranath Tagore and Minomohun Ghose about their arrival in England.

4th May. London Heard Mr. F. D Maurice* preach. In the afternoon Satyendranath and Manomohan came and I gave them a hearty welcome.

6th May. London. Dennys and I paid a visit to the Royal Academy of Arts Exhibition.

11th May. London Tea with Dr W B Carpenter, his wife and family. The Doctor showed me his own magnificent microscope.

18th May. London A stroll in the Regent's Park with Mr. and Miss Adam

19th May. There are now 4 or 5 Hindus in London Purusottam Mudeliar alone pretends to preserve his Hinduism.

24th May London The Queen being in mourning has forbidden all *tamashas* on her birthday

25th May London In the morning with Mr Adam who read a lecture† of his on Rammohan Roy In the evening Satyendra and Manomohan called, and we went together to the Metropolitan Institution, Cleveland Street, to hear the lecture of Dennys on the life and genius of Shakspeare The evening being very fine,

* The Rev F D Maurice (1803-1872) a modern English divine As founder of the Working Man's College he considerably advanced the cause of general education He held the professorship of divinity in King's College but resigned the appointment upon the authorities raising objections to his religious views especially as regarded the eternity of punishment In 1866 he became professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge (Beeton)

† The lecture was originally delivered by Mr Adam at Boston U S The MS was obtained by R D H from the author in 1862 and was published by him in 1879 under the title of ' A Lecture on the Life and Labours of Rammohan Roy ' (Calcutta G P Roy and Co 71 Bow Bazar Street)

the attendance was small, as the parks were the centres of attraction

26th May In the evening, the Professors Soirée at the University College The interior of the building looked splendid in gas light Flaxman's gallery, the anatomical museum and all other apartments were thrown open, pictures, statues microscopes safety lamps double reflecting ear trumpets were shown and there was a good gathering Saw Newman Many lions were present In the Coffee room met two exquisitely beautiful girls whom Phidias himself would have been proud to take models of I left at 9½ P M

29th May London Witnessed in the evening Keans* Hamlet at the Royal Princess's Theatre

30th May London Grand ball and supper in the University Hall Outward humanity seemed to be arrayed in all its glory

1st June London Dined with the Twamleys Walked on the Hampstead Heath, and took a bird's eye view of London

2nd June London My first visit to the Great International Exhibition at Brompton

3rd June Examination at the Manchester New College

4th June To the Polytechnic Institution The Panorama of Japan the cosmorama views (including one of Calcutta) the electrical wonders the diving

* Charles Keane son of the celebrated English actor Edmund Keane attained considerable reputation as an actor and manager at the Princess's Theatre

bell, the magnificent and wonderful dissolving views of ancient and modern London. In the evening went according to an invitation, to the philosophic retreat of Mr G J Holvoake—the Dymoke Lodge. It is situated in Anglo Indian fashion, *i e*, the Bungalow surrounded with a compound and trees. The evening being very bright I altogether fancied myself in Bengal in October. Mr Holvoake's family is a pretty large one he having several children. His eldest daughter is pretty looking. He showed me, after tea, a photograph of Garibaldi presented by the general himself with his autograph. An old whole length wooden statue of Voltaire, said to have been made while Voltaire was living. He then showed, while we were enjoying cigars (when I told him I did smoke, his reply was that I had all the virtues of a—what?) a great many publications of his own. He has written more than I can conveniently read in three or four years. A beautifully written MS by him of Euclid the whole of which, he said he knew by heart. He showed me the identical Howitt's Corrected List of prisoners at the Gloucester Jail which I allude to in his 'Last Trial by Jury for Atheism'. It is pasted on a scrap book which contains all sorts of original scraps of newspapers bills etc that appeared concerning him while he was imprisoned. He showed a copy of Pearson's work on Infidelity published at 10s 6d per copy, which I caused to be sold at 1s 6d and so 4000 copies were distributed, he then wrote against it and no new edition has appeared since. He has a collection of many hundreds of rare pamphlets

chiefly relating to theology. Mr. Holyoake of course fancies himself a successor to the heretical philosophers. Returned near 11 P. M.

6th June. London. Tea with Mr. Crawford and a select party.

11th June. London. To the Great Exhibition "Koh-i-noor," "Star of the South," etc. From the Chelsea Bridge saw both the Crystal Palace and the International To Guy's Hospital, where I saw the knives which had been 'swallowed by a man. An account of the matter I had long ago read in Chambers' "Edinburgh Journal," old series.

19th June Wrote to Jadunath that it was my intention to return to Calcutta very quietly, like the boy in Rammohan Roy's school, who after an unsanctioned absence of three years coolly took his place again in his class!

21st June London A visit to the Colosseum Dwarkanath Tagore and Mohun Lal's busts The splendid cavern, fountains etc. A view of tottering Lisbon during the awful earthquake

23rd June. London Examination at the University College

26th June To Greenwich. The splendid Observatory, Hospital, Nelson and Franklin's reliques Painted Hall; kitchen In the evening prolonged conversation with Pratt. Soirée at the Hall. Met Mrs Roscoe, widow of the well-known author *

* William Roscoe, (1753 1831) an English historian and member of Parliament In the House of Commons Roscoe voted with the Whigs and advocated the abolition of the slave trade One

30th June London Pratt and I went to the Rev. Mr F D Maurice, the celebrated author and preacher. Lunched there. Dined with Professor Tayler. With Mr Adam in the evening.

1st July London In the morning saw Mr and Mrs Long (our country's friends) at 81 Avenue Road, N W. Thence to Pratt.

PRIZE DAY AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Distribution of prizes at University College. Mr Stansfield M P* presided. Mr George Grote and many other eminent men were present. Obtained 2nd certificate in Jurisprudence. In the evening took leave of Messrs Robinson, Newman, Mr and Mrs Twamley, 6 Queen's Road, Mr and Miss Adam, Mrs Pratt etc.

2nd July London Took leave of Satyendranath

of the earliest invitations received by Rammohan Roy after his arrival in England was from William Roscoe. The venerable historian who had been a prisoner through paralysis for many years and was now within a few weeks of his end had previously corresponded with Rammohan read his writings and earnestly longed to see him. The interview which resulted is described as exceedingly affecting. (Miss Collet's *Rammohan Roy* London 1900)

* R D H thus refers to Mr Stansfield in his diary of the 2nd February 1867 — Report says Mr Stansfield is likely to be Under Secretary for India. If true he will be quite an acquisition at the India Board. In the prime of life (he is hardly 40) of an engaging exterior possessed of a highly cultivated mind and very amiable disposition. Mr Stansfield has gained considerable political influence in England. His talents as a public speaker are great. It is indeed a delight to hear him in the House of Commons and out of it. He is liberal in the best sense of the word and has warm sympathy for Her Majesty's Indian subjects.

and Manomohan Lunch and smoke with the author
 of the "Alpha" Took leave of him

3rd July Mr Pratt called very early in the morning, and waited in the Hall Library till I had finished tea Taking leave of the friends at University Hall, Mr Pratt and I drove to the Waterloo Bridge Railway Station Pratt bought some books from the stalls and gave me to read in my voyage At 8 A M

I shook hands with Pratt with tears in my eyes How kind was Pratt! He apologized for not being able to accompany me to Southampton The cars moved, and
 I seemed to devour London Shall I ever come back to this paradise on earth? In the compartment, two Frenchmen sat on my two sides and three Englishmen in front, the latter not uttering a word, the former gibbling all the way Southampton at 10 20 A M Leaving my trunks in charge of a porter in the baggage room of the P & O S N Company, drove to Portswood Lawn to the Rev Edmund Kell about three miles from the town Runy day, cleared a little before sunset Walked with K to his Chapel Thence I walked alone in the rich avenue to some distance Returning to the Chapel, K and I went to Isaac Watts's new monument set up last year K (an antiquarian) showed the old gateway of Norman times Two paintings on two sides of the arch, one of the Earl of Southampton (Bevis) and his squire 1503 years old and yet their features etc discernible The legend of the Earl, whose old father married a second wife, and was murdered by her paramour, himself sold in slavery to an African King, love with

his daughter, elopement travel in Germany, subduing the giant who became his follower and squire and return to Southampton The old walls from the river side Pretty town Returned in the evening Hospitalities of K and his good wife

HOMEWARD BOUND

4th July Left Southampton at 7 P M on board the steamer *Euxine* The afternoon was fine Ship steady

7th July Disagreeably rough sea a little better in the afternoon

8th July On board the *Euxine* fine day, a light house with revolving lights

9th July The *Euxine* Fine day Land (coast of Portugal) visible

10th July Arrived at Gibraltar in the morning Stroll in the town with a batch of Jacks Disproportionately large number of tobacco shops People of various complexions Met a girl in the market and I fancied she had a wonderful resemblance to the Empress Eugenie Left Gibraltar Foggy night

11th July Fine day Coast of Spain visible

12th July Fine day Land visible, African side

13th July A very fine day Glorious moon light night Africa and several rocks in the Mediterranean visible

14th July Rocks in the Mediterranean Warm

morning Rock and town of Pantellaria Fine and hot day

15th July Arrived near Valetta, did not land Beautiful night

18th July Approached Alexandria while the sun was sinking in the Mediterranean From Alexandria to Cairo (Kahira) at night

19th July "Al Kahira has lost all her charms to me after my return from Europe Cairo to Suez, the heat was great Breakfasted at the Hotel, where the servants were Indian Muhammadans, a rascally set In the evening, on board the *Candia*

25th July Reached Aden, stopped some hours at the Parsi Hotel, the only one Rode on a donkey and took a view of the place

29th July On board the *Candia* Beautiful morning Feel very well

3rd August Reached Galle, and left the place

5th August Reached Madras

9th August The steamer *Candia* touched Garden Reach at 4 P M Set foot on dear Bengal again I was in English costume, and was obeyed by people very promptly Had no difficulty in coming to Chunder nagore the same evening Prankishan Pal lent me his *Dhuti* and *Chadar* I crossed our gold river, changed clothes at the 'Gangabasi' room, and then entered again our house Father gave a very cool reception

APPENDIX.

I

EXTRACTS FROM THE AUTHOR'S

INDIAN DIARY.

1851-70



9th June 1851 Rose early in the morning and went to the house of Babu Devendranath Tagore, accompanied by my friend Anangimohan Mitra. We said, hitherto the progress of Brahmdharma was only nominal that we should try to reduce to practice what we so often preach. Babu Devendranath said we should certainly try to do so but the time had not arrived for the consummation of all our wishes. When Brahmadharma was first established the people were extremely hostile towards it. Scarcely half a dozen persons attended the Brahmo Samaj. We have gained something by our constant efforts in the fact that many people now come to the Samaj to hear the sermons. In social matters we might rectify and improve things were we to separate ourselves from the bulk of the Hindus as a separate sect. Babu Devendra said for the present it would be sufficient if the Brahmos would follow the simple rules laid down in the *Brāhmīthirma grantha*. When more rules are needed more might be added. Those who would voluntarily follow the rules of the Brahmadharma ought to join the new sect.

We then left Jorasanko and returned to Kidderpur.

12th March 1852 Paid a visit to the Asiatic Society's Museum and observed God's glory in his wonderful works. The stone inscription of the Edict of Rajah Piadasī (Asoka or Asoka Vardhana) 2102 years old interested me very much. Here was one thing genuine. This was not of course my first visit to the Museum.

19th July 1852 I had a conversation to day with a Jew who

said that his maternal uncle was the person engaged by the great Pamphorian Roy as a teacher of Hebrew, in order that Pamphorian might study the Bible in the original

31st Oct 1852 Babu Devendranath Tagore of Calcutta delivered an extempore sermon at the Javadai Brahmo Samaj which was established at our house on the 2nd July last. Father is evidently in doubts as to the truth of the 'faith' once delivered to the saints.

21st Mar 1853 Attended meeting of the Ganaprakasika Sabha at Bhowanipur. Babu Devendranath Tagore and several Brahmins of Calcutta attended. After the service the Draft Trust deed was read Babu Devendra being chairman. I moved that the name Ganaprakasika might be changed into the Bhowanipur Brahmo Samaj. Several speakers residents of Bhowanipur vociferated 'No! No!' Among the persons present were Babus Sambhunath and Kasiswar Mitra, Prasannakumar Mukharj, Harishchandra Mukharj and others altogether about 150 people. Babu Devendra finding there was an overwhelming majority of the residents of Bhowanipur whispered into my ear enquiring whether the meeting was announced in the public newspapers in the regular way. The object of the enquiry was that if the meeting had not been properly announced another meeting must be called and in the interim several members of the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj might be introduced as members, and so the number of members advocating the name Brahmo Samaj might nearly equal the Bhowanipur members. I said before I moved for the adjournment of the meeting I should like to make a little speech. I was a regular member of the Society and harangued for about a quarter of an hour and told the gentlemen present that not to acknowledge the name of Brahmo Samaj which the Society actually was, would betray moral cowardice. The meeting was then divided members counted there was a show of hands, and it was found that the advocates of the different designations were equally divided. The chairman having a casting vote we the advocates for the name of Brahmo Samaj carried the day and that name was introduced in the Trust deed.

Christian Missionaries Iswarchandra^o held the orphans should be treated as Hindus till they arrived at the age of discretion. I held the same view of course. We were required to give our opinion in writing. Saw Mr Dampier at his particular request and he got answers from me to a variety of questions touching tenures etc.

9th December 1866 At Purulia dinner at Col Dalton's tent, the party consisting of the Colonel himself, his nephew Mr Dampier Iswarchandra and myself.

4th January, 1867 At Purulia foggy morning, letter to Mr H Pratt London. Cloudy day. Sent a copy of 'Gitaval' to Ramhari at Burdwan. Ramhari was Rammohan Roy's personal servant in England. Such is Ramhari's regard for his former master that on mention of the late Rajah's name he still sheds tears.

11th January 1867 At Dalm [Minbhum] Thick mist in the morning. The Cake festival has commenced. Though the country has but recently been devastated by famine there are rejoicings throughout the length and breadth of the land. Women and children are singing and chatting together merrily, the *dhenki* † is in constant motion, and delicious cakes are in prospect. Several educated natives celebrate this festival. Such is the elasticity, to use Sir C. Trevelyan's favourite phrase ‡ of human nature that the dreary past is soon forgotten to give place to the delights of the present season. Large H malis in birds (*sorbirds*) abound here now. Rather disappointed with the ruins, Colossal Ganesh Durga Surya Siva, Vishnu as avatars etc found they belong I believe to the age of Sankaracharya as might be expected from the descriptions of Anandagiri. The images could be referred to the age when Panchopastana was coming into vogue. Reached

^o Babu Iswarchandra Ghosal of College Square Calcutta a well known member of the Subordinate Executive Service

† A kind of pestle and mortar for pounding rice etc

‡ See p 54 *ante*

Ichchhargari The Rajah visited me—a more shrewd and licentious man to be rarely seen than him

19th January 1867 At Papirda [Manbhum] duck shooting A German paper says Napoleon III has passed his meridian and that people are waiting for his death The *Hindoo Patriot* wrongly says that Iswarchandra Ghosal was the only member of the Manbhum Famine Relief Committee that protested against the orphans being made over to the Christian Missionaries unconditionally I also had taken the same view

26th January, 1867 Attended meeting of the Manbhum Famine Relief Committee The *Englishman* has published Sir Cecil Beadon's minute on the Famine Sir Cecil admits that the magnitude of the Famine was neither foreseen by himself nor by his subordinates nor by the Press that all that was thought sufficient had been done that he had gone to Dargling on medical certificate or advice This explanation will not satisfy all sections of the public

9th February, 1867 Sri Pinchami at Purulia breakfast at the Head Master's Iswarchandra wore the guise of a Bengal Vaisnavi that of a first young man of Calcutta We wanted to shame the old dog in whose house we were to breakfast for though Head Master of a school he kept a concubine at the school house Evening walk with Munsif Nabin We met a few Babus with chequered *pirhdans* socks etc and remarked the changes rapidly taking place in our social habits Ten years ago few would dare put on a *pirhan* or a pair of socks now even *amlas* are sporting kerseymere *chapkans* flannel shirts English boots and shoes Many young men of Purulia have learnt to drink wine and eat fowls They are the sons and relatives of bigotted people of the *amla* class Nabin said ten years ago if one would walk morning and evening people would say Look! this man walks like a *sahed*!

12th February, 1867 The Brahmo Samaj is making progress The Brahmika ladies are sitting at prayers in the church mixing with male Brahmos eating with English ladies like Miss Carpenter and writing in the papers These are certainly very good signs

but after all I fear that the Brahmos may be another sect like the *Aristhiks*

17th February, 1867 Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar has fed 197 440 *Kangdis* (paupers) from Vigh 1272 B E to 9th Poush 1273. A man like Vidyasagar could not of course sleep while the country was groaning under the pressure of an awful famine. His mother is an extraordinary lady, one just worthy to give birth to such a son. It is said that when a good many *Kangdis* applied to the mother of Vidyasagar at Birsingha for relief, she went to Calcutta and advised her son to open a Relief Depot at Birsingha. Spring is come but unattended with joy, the direful effects of the late famine are still felt in various parts of the country.

6th March 1867 Keshub Chandra Sen the Brahmo Apostle is earning laurels. He is now preaching in the Punjab where a volunteer preacher from England Mr. Tilling has turned. Englishmen admire Keshub's extraordinary eloquence. The first and last time I have heard Keshub's extempore lecture was at Burdwan in 1863 while on his way to the Upper Provinces.

7th March 1867 One Weedon kicks and kills a native and the Jury lets him off. Such an event occurs not unfrequently and because a native's life is worth but a straw. I think the word *Hari* is derived from the Christian word *Hiera* (holy) or *vice versa* 'Hiera Solyma' Holy Jerusalem was the cry of the Crusaders. *Haribol* the cry of the Krishnaites. Hence the English word *Hurrah*. This is one of the facts showing the common origin of Vaishnavism and Christianity.

8th November 1867 At Ranchi. Talking about boundary survey Colonel Dalton made mention of a funny anecdote about the way they used to remember the village boundaries in England. They used to take some boys to the salient points of the boundary of a village and to flog them well there that they might never after forget the boundary. He said that some officer in Singbhum caused the Kols to dance and sing on their boundaries for a similar

object The Colonel suggested that I might adopt either of the modes in fixing the boundary of Palamou !

11th November, 1867 Col Dilton read to me parts of the MS of his "Ethnology of Bengal, which he was writing at the request of the Government

20th November 1867 Left Sadbairwa 4 A M, reached Pokhra (where there is a tank) after sunrise, arrived at Daltonganj 1 P M Met Sisibhusan Sirkar, Sub Assistant Surgeon, and Forbes, the Sub Divisional Officer Took lodgings at the bungalow of Wilcox, where I felt snug Daltonganj is a new and small town just rising

22nd November 1867 Daltonganj (which vulgar people corrupt into 'Laltenganj') Visited the Charitable Hospital badly built plinth too low, the first and only patient received is a man with compound fracture of his left leg occasioned by struggling with a ferocious bear Shahpur, where the old Rajah's dwelling is is on the other or west bank of the Koel

23rd November, 1867 Daltonganj Visited the Jail, the gate very strong the walls very weak few prisoners Police station new and good three respectable bungalows as yet the Kutcherry where the Sub Divisional Officer lives the Assistant Police Superintendent's bungalow, and Wilcox's bungalow Few residents as yet Shahpur opposite, is more populous formerly Leslighanj was the head quarters station Importunate and impertinent beggars Saw Maulvi Fazulla, Deputy Magistrate I am not yet quite recovered from rheumatism, which has become chronic

24th November 1867 Daltonganj Syphilitic diseases are said to be prevalent in these parts Crossed the Koel a respectable stream and visited Shahpur An abandoned but imposing looking four storeyed house with two towers belonging to the former Rajah Town ugly in the extreme roads its nature made them Remnant of a bazar

26th November 1867 In the morning Sasi and Fazulla called The Maulvi is a funny man though at times very grave He is an old student of the Hooghly College Arabic Department

27th November 1867 Saw and the Mullah called Mrs F was very desirous I should see her she repeatedly sent me word by the Mullah but I did not like to go as her husband was away. At last I called to day and was very kindly received. We conversed on various topics for about two hours. She said that some European gentlemen had farmed Rhotsegarh and had made it a charming place. She showed me some fine views of Palamon.

3rd December, 1867 Death of Padmalochin Mandal of Chinsura and Balisore announced. He was my father's old friend and had always an affection for me. May his soul rest in peace! Dr Kantilal Dev says magenta with which certain sweet meats are tinged is a preparation of arsenic poison.

4th December 1867 The Anti Slavery Conference in Paris thanked the Almighty Creator of free man for the restoration to liberty of 4 000 000 slaves in the United States America and for emancipation of 23 000 000 serfs in Russia. The human family is just beginning to grow into a state of manhood.

10th April 1868 Dined to Daltongin; Dined at Mr Larmie's. Forbes and his nice wife were also present.

21st July 1868 Moved off to Bankura where I arrived in the afternoon. A rather good road (the old trunk) connects Raichanathpur with Bankura. The out of date semaphores conspicuously point out the comparative ignorance of a bygone age. Comfortably lodged through the courtesy of Bagilanand Upendra Chandra Mukharj and Suresekhar Banerji.

22nd July 1868 Bankura is a more lively place than Purulia. About two hours conversation with Mr W Tucker Judge very strangely he said Hodgson Pratt had cracked brains. Indeed! the world would fare better if it had more such men as the crack brained Pratt. Mr Cheke the indigo planter was not apparently born to laugh. The school house is a splendid building. Biswanath Singh Head Master a charming man.

23rd July 1868 Met Wetherill the District Superintendent of Police. He spoke Bengali wonderfully well. The late Magistrate

Mr Wells had etc told a very imposing Chandni at the Bazaar. The streets as good as could be wished in Bankura.

25th July 1868 Ramtarak Rai Principal Sadr Amin of Bankura seemed a quiet inoffensive man. Old Kanti Chatterji the Deputy Magistrate made my ribs ache by his funny stories about himself. Kanti is waxing fat like Falstaff. Mr Grant^o the Magistrate a true Tory, notoriously exclusive gave me an audience. He was pleased with my conversation. He laughed out right when I told him that in England on being asked by somebody who was our king and what sort of national flag we had I had said His Majesty Victoria Bahadur with our flag the Union Jack.

2th October 1869 Col Dalt n's Picnic party at the Falls of the Subarnarekha.† Passed a delightful day. The falls were indeed romantic.

19th October 1870 Visited Sutrimbe [Ranchi] celebrated as the original seat of the Nagvanshi family. An apology of a hill called Mundariburu near which the shapeless ruins of an old fort bricks an old tank a raised old hut called Suryanand r contained broken statues of Ganesa and three other gods not identified the door was beautiful the frames nicely carved two figures were those of Krishna and Radha. It occurred to me to day that Konkrit Munda is a corruption of Kanakpatta Munda the Mundas of the golden country.

NOTE—R. D. H. edited and published the Nagvanshabal an account of the Nagvanshi family (from which the present Maharajah of Chota Nagpore claims descent) in Hindi verse by Beni Ram (Calcutta Valmiki Press 1933 Samvat).

^o Mr Trevor John Chicle Grant (a son of Sir John Peter Grant Lieutenant Governor of Bengal) who was Collector of Birbhum when he retired in 1897.

† The Hundru Ghat water fall which is about twenty five miles to the north east of Ranchi. The Subarnarekha river precipitates itself over a perpendicular ledge of rock about 300 feet high.

II

SELECTIONS FROM THE AUTHOR'S BENGALI VERSES.



(১)

বালুকার উপরে লিখিত একটি নাম ।

অপবাহে এক দিনে

গিয়া সাগর পুলিনে

প্রফুল্ল অন্তর ;

লিখিলাম নিজ নাম,

জন্মতিথি, বার, ধাম

বালুকা উপর ।

পরে ছাড়ি সেই স্থান

হইলাম আশুদান,

বাবেক ফিরিয়া পাছে কবি দৃষ্টিপাত ;

দেখি সিদ্ধুব ভবঙ্গ,

কবি কত রঙ্গ ভঙ্গ,

কবিল আমার লেখা সত্ত্ব জলসান ।

তাই ভাবিলাম মনে

ধবাতলে সযতনে

যত কীর্তি কবি,

কাল চৌর সন্ধ্যাগী
 পাছে অলসিতে আসি
 লবে সব হরি ।
 কিস্ত আছে একজন
 জ্ঞানময় নিরঞ্জন,
 বানুকাও অগত বাহাব কাছ নয়,
 মোর কার্য্য বিবরণ
 রাখি ছেন অহুঙ্কণ
 ভাল হোক কিবা মল হোক সমুদ্র * ।

(২)

আমাব জ্যেষ্ঠতাত পত্নীর প্রতি ।

বহুশ্রু ভূমি ওগো ঘেঁঠাই রেবতি ।
 তোমার চরণে করি সহস্র প্রণতি ।
 মাক্তহীন শিশু আমি ছিলাম যখন,
 বহুকষ্ট সহি মোরে কোবেছ পালন ।
 তুমি তুলি দিতে অন্ন পানীয় ক্ষুধায়,
 তুমি জাগি রক্ষা মোবে করিতে নিদ্রায়,

* These lines appear to have been written in imitation of—
 Alone I walked the ocean strand
 A pearly shell was in my hand
 I stooped and wrote upon the sand
 My name the year the day
 &c &c &c

তুমি গো কবিত্তে মোন শোকেব সাধনা ,
 বোণেতে ঔষধ দিতে দা-ত যাতনা ,
 নাভার মেহেতে তুমি কবিত্তে পালন
 নাহুইতাব দুখ না পাই কখন ।
 ধন্ত ধন্ত বেবতী জেঠাহ ।
 তোমার সমান নাবী কনু দেবি নাপি ।
 পালাকাল হতে সতি ' বিধবা চইয়া
 পাংমাছ কত কষ্টে না পাহ ভাবিয়া ।
 প্রভুাম চইতে রাজি দ্বিতীয় প্রহর,
 গৃহকন্ম হতে না পাইতে অবসর ,
 একবার দিব'ষ কবিত্তে অর্দ্ধাঙ্গা
 স্নান ভূমিতলে তুমি কবিত্তে শয়না ,
 একাদশী প্রভৃতিব দীর্ঘ উপবাস ।
 শ্রবণ কবিলে নমো উপদে তবাস !
 বোগে কভু না কবিত্তে ঔষধ সেবন
 কহিতে 'করেন বাহা প্রভু জনাঙ্গন ।'
 শীত গ্রীষ্ম প্রভৃতিব নাছিল বিচার
 সন্তকালে কবিত্তে সম্যা ব্যবহার ।
 দেহ স্নেহ হতে থাকি বিস্তর অন্তর,
 সন্দা থাকিত্তে মাতা প্রহর অন্তর ।
 জীব্য সপিয়াছিলে ঈশবের পদে,
 ভাবিত্ত হরিবপদ বপদ সম্পদে ।
 ভাবতে অনেক আছে পতিহীনা নাবী,
 তোমাব গহিত গো খুলনা দিতে নাবি ।

ছিগে পবহিষ্কৃতিনী অতি পুণ্যৱতী

দত দত দত ৭৭৭ চেঠাচ রেবতী ।

রেবতী দেবী ১৭৭২ = কত ভাঙ্গ মা স লোকাৱলিখ হন

বসে অত ৭০ বৎসর হুঁচুচিল ।

১৫৫ ১৭৭৭ = ক ।

(৩)

মাধুব সন্তোষ ।

মাধুব সামান্যরূপ বিহীন অনব,
 যেমন অখোঁত উড়ে শূঁতে নিবস্তব,
 সেহরূপ অঙ্গে বসি ক্রেশের পিণ্ডবে,
 অমধুব মনোমুগ্ধকর গান কবে,
 সুখ মাত্র এহ রব—“বিন্ধু নিরাময় ।
 যাহা হচ্ছা কব তুমি সর্বাত্ম হর ।”

(৪)

প্রবাস ।

১ কিনা দিতে পানি ভাই । যদি একবার

হেদি অদেশেব মুখ ?

অহমেব শুভদৃষ্টি স্থিতিস্থখ সার,

পেলে পাণরি অমুখ ।

২ ‘গৃহ’ শব্দ অমধুব মনোহরতল

এল কিবা আছে আব ?

তবু প্রতি পথে এলে হহহে কাতব,

বাটে মনের বিকার ।

অভাবেই বুঝা যায় বস্তব গোবব,

তাঁহা কভু মিছা নয়,

ঘনকালে বল কোথা বৃষ্টির সৌরব

বিনা নিদ্রাধ সময় ?

শুষ্ক স্নগ্ধান যদি থাকে ধবাতলে,

সে ত জননীৰ কোল ,

স্নেহামৃত পান স্নখ সন্তোষ বিস্মলে

যথা ফোটে শিশু বোল ।

জননীৰ কোলে জগত্ভূমি কোলে আব

নহে অধিক বিশেষ ,

হেন পৰ্গ ছাড়ি আইলাম সিজুগার,

তাই ছুখ একশেষ ।

১ কোথা মোব প্রি়া জহ্নুসুতা স্রোতধনী

যাহা বঙ্গের গরিমা ?

কোথায় মলয়ানিল মৃদুমন্দ গতি ?

কোথা ববির মহিমা ?

২ কোথা তরুবাঈ কোকিলের প্রিয় চুত,

যাহে দেশ শোভমান ?

কোথা মধুকব দল বসন্তের দূত ?

কোথা চাতকের গান ?

৩ কোথায় আমাব প্রিয় সহচর গণ ?

আব আব প্রিয়চর ?

কোথা মোর প্রেমসীম প্রেম আশ্রয়
 মোর শ্রীতির আলয় ?
 ১. তারে বিবাহ দাহ নিদারুণ অতি,
 এত আগে কে জানিত ?
 জানিলে কি হয় তাই কেনা বিবে মতি,
 যাহে অশ্রু অমিত ?
 গৃহ মের দেশ, চিত চুবকের নগি
 সেই একদিকে নুখ,
 চালিত হইলে পুন ফিরয় অমনি
 যেন পেয়ে কত দুখ ।
 গৃহ । গৃহ । গৃহ । আমি সদা শ্রুতি গোহে,
 তাব নাহিক বিরাম ,
 আর কি পাইব গৃহস্থ এই বেহে ?
 মোর গৃহ অভিবান ।

লণ্ডন, ২৭এ ফাল্গুন ১৭৮৩ শকাব্দ ।

(৫)

ইংলণ্ডে শীত যাপন ।

কি কঠোর দংশ শীতবে তোব ?
 অবলেবে পেয়ে এসুক জোর ?
 বিদেশী বলিয়া বুদ্ধি নিদয় ?
 গতিবীতে তোম নাহি জদয় ।
 ধুম কুয়াশায় ব্যাপিলি শব্দ,
 জাঁপানবতে তুট্টে এত পামবা ।

পৃথিবীর শোভা পাতা তরুর,
 ছাডিয়া হেলিলি তবে নির্ভুল ।
 অল পৃথিবীর চৌর চৌবন,
 অমিয়া কনিদি শিলা ঘেমন ।
 উত্তরব বায়ু সে তোব চব,
 কলেবর মোর ছুঁইলে ডব ।
 তুমারে আবৃত হ'ল দবগী,
 বিশদ বসন বিধবা গবি ।
 দিনকর ক্লশ চোবের প্রায়
 দেবিত্তে দেবিত্ত কোণ পলাব ।
 উত্তিত্ত বসিত্তে যায় ত দিন,
 রাত্তি সংস্থাপন বড় কঠিন ,
 কাল বাতি গম বিয়ম ঘোব,
 বোধহয় যেন নাহবে ভোর ।
 আশুণ বিহনে না বাঁচে প্রাণ,
 কাণে দেহ ঝড় তৃণ সমান ।
 কতদিন আর এই যাতনা ?
 কতদিন শীত বিটল প । ?
 ছাডিয়া নাছাড়ে একি বালাই ।
 মনে হয় দেশ ছেড়ে পলাই ।

লণ্ডন ১৪ই মে ১৭৮৩।

সম্পূর্ণ ।